Leadership for Rural Life

SANDERSON

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
FEB 27 1942
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
HM141
.S21

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
FEB 27 1942
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Leadership for Rural Life

by
DWIGHT SANDERSON
Professor of Rural Sociology
Cornell University

Foreword by
M. L. WILSON
Director of Extension Work
U. S. Department of Agriculture

1940
Association Press
347 Madison Avenue New York

COPYRIGHT, 1940, BY
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

Printed in the United States of America

Foreword

As THIS is being written there intrudes upon our attention a theory of the rôle of leadership which is the antithesis of that developed by Professor Sanderson. That theory of leadership, although not new, is basically opposed to the folkways of a democracy. Leadership *for* the people is today challenging leadership *by* the people, *of* the people, and *for* the people. Mystic sanctions and efficiency are claimed for the one; the other rests on a belief in the values of the human personality and the capacity of individuals to determine what they want and what they should have.

A fundamental problem in democratic organization is that of the recruiting, developing, and functioning of leaders at all levels from the smallest local group to the central government. In the past we have tended to take democracy for granted; we believed in it so strongly that we took for granted the organization and procedures by which it operated. Our agricultural efforts paid too little attention to the ways whereby the average farmer could participate in the democratic processes of an increasingly complex society. The prestige and socially desirable prizes of life in a farm community were largely confined to success in operating an individual farm enterprise. With the increasing regard for science, the prestige of the expert grew rapidly and there was a tendency to turn major problems over to him or to a professional leader. We were in danger of forgetting that the democratic process requires the participation of all in the decisions of the group; that decisions imposed from above, even though accepted, are not the democratic way.

As farmers have been taking a greater part in the formulation of farm programs in recent years, they have found that their concern extends beyond their own communities to the nation and to other parts of the world. Given this concern with broader matters, it seems probable that agricultural democracy is in the process of working out more practical demonstrations of its philosophy than have been prevalent in the past. More and more we are coming to look to local participation in planning of programs and in the carrying out of agreed-upon action. This may seem to complicate the task of the professional leader and the expert who are charged with facilitating these programs. In the short run, it might seem simpler just to have them go ahead with whatever action they believed desirable; but in the long run the democratic approach, recognizing the needs of all of the people, is bound to be the more effective. Not only will it assure better planning in the sense of better adaptation to local needs, but it will also eliminate many of the administrative frictions which develop around programs which are handed down from above.

Extension Workers and others who are charged with assisting in the development of programs to meet not only current needs, but also the changed needs of the world which may emerge from the present upheaval, are vitally concerned with questions of leadership. Their primary job is to help the community analyze its problems in the light of all available information and so to organize itself that the necessary action can be taken. More than ever before they need to be aware of the processes by which a community develops its leaders and the ways in which a leader influences his community. For the process works both ways; it is a give and take in which each stimulates the other. Under any other circumstances the leader becomes a dictator or a rubber stamp—and both are repugnant to democracy. Given the knowledge that every group has within it the necessary leadership (whether it

is acknowledged or only potential) and that every situation brings to the fore some leadership within the community, the professional leader has the serious obligation to find and develop that local leadership and to strengthen it through all the resources at his command. Not only can he greatly multiply his own efforts by working through well-selected and trained local leaders, but (what is more important) he can promote a working democracy by facilitating the development and functioning of local leadership. There is no dearth of potential leaders in rural America—the absence of stimulation may have kept them from becoming widely acknowledged. Time and again a disorganized community or group has been welded into an effective co-operative unit because someone within it became willing to assume responsibility and take initiative, and was able to inspire in his followers the confidence which is necessary for such effort.

Professor Sanderson has rendered a valuable service to all those professional leaders and lay leaders in executive positions who are constantly confronted by the problems of local leadership. If they can assimilate the principles and the suggestions which he lays down here, they will have demonstrated Professor Sanderson's description of how the successful leader spreads his efforts by working through others. If they successfully apply the principles which they will find discussed in the following pages, they will make an important contribution toward the basic problem in rural America today—making the new agricultural democracy a reality.

M. L. Wilson.

Preface

THE following chapters have been developed while I was conducting a seminar on rural leadership during the past ten years. They are offered, not as a complete treatise on the topic, but merely to present what seems to me to be the most important concepts and points of view.

There has been too much of a haze of mystery surrounding the topic of leadership. This has doubtless been due to the element of prestige that always accompanies leadership, and also to a naïve belief that there are certain innate qualities with which "natural leaders" are endowed. This point of view tends to emphasize the "discovery" of leaders, and neglects the larger obligation of creating and training them. An empirical analysis of the leadership relation places more emphasis on the situation in which leadership occurs and strengthens the belief that there is more potential leadership than has been enlisted.

I am indebted to two former students, Ray E. Wakeley and L. H. Woodward, for the use of two papers prepared by them, which appear at the ends of Chapters III and VI.

A condensation of this material forms a chapter in *Rural Community Organization,* written with my colleague Robert A. Polson, published by John Wiley and Sons, and the present publication is pursuant to an agreement with them.

It is hoped that this little volume may be useful to teachers of college classes, and to rural ministers, schoolmen, extension workers, and executives of rural organizations who are concerned with the enlistment and development of rural leadership.

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Cornell University
August, 1940

Contents

FOREWORD, *M. L. Wilson* 3

PREFACE 7

I. THE DEMAND FOR RURAL LEADERSHIP . . 11

II. THE RÔLE OF THE LEADER AND TYPES OF LEADERS 16

III. THE GROUP AND THE LEADER 24

IV. WHAT IS LEADERSHIP? 46

V. EVOLUTION OF THE RÔLE OF LEADER IN THE GROUP 60

VI. CREATING LEADERS 68

VII. DEVELOPING AND TRAINING LEADERS . . 84

VIII. THE PROFESSIONAL LEADER 102

IX. THE MEANING AND VALUES OF LEADERSHIP TO THE LEADER 112

BIBLIOGRAPHY 121

INDEX 125

CHAPTER I

The Demand for Rural Leadership

DURING the past twenty-five years there has been an increasing demand for rural leaders. In the old days of the rural neighborhood, life was simpler. The neighbors visited at their homes or at the country church and arrived at a common understanding concerning their joint activities. There were fewer organizations and change was less rapid, so that there was less need for leadership. But with the coming of the automobile, the telephone, and the radio, rural life expanded; contacts with village and city became more frequent. From these contacts new wants arose that could not be satisfied by individual effort. Furthermore, the disorganization of agriculture subsequent to the World War convinced farmers that in a commercial economy they must act together if they were to obtain a fair return for their labor. Hence the rapid growth of farmers' co-operative associations and such organizations as the Farm Bureau. Organizations multiplied and succeeded only as they developed adequate leadership. In the last five years the numerous activities of governmental agencies such as the Agricultural Adjustment, Farm Credit, and Rural Electrification Administrations have created an unprecedented demand for local leaders. There has, therefore, been a rapid growth of farm leadership; for the telephone and automobile have made it possible for farmers to get in touch with one another. Formerly farmers depended more largely on village leaders, who had more frequent contacts with people from all parts of

the community, and for whom leadership was an economic asset because it brought them business, whereas for the farmer it was an economic liability because it required more time from his work than he could afford. The present plight of older youth who are unable to find employment in country or city challenges the best leadership of all rural agencies.

This increasing demand for rural leaders has produced a new appreciation of the rôle of the leader, but at the same time it has revealed that very many rural communities and organizations are unable to achieve their objectives because of the lack of competent leadership. One of the paradoxes of life is that where leaders are most needed they are the least in evidence. This arises from the fact (as we shall see later in studying the origins of leadership) that people who are not used to acting together in organizations are jealous of one another and are unwilling to give recognition and loyalty to a leader. Hence, there is a general reluctance to take initiative and assume responsibility because of the criticism that will result. A disorganized community or group is one in which there are few or no trusted leaders, and its improvement awaits the development of new leadership.

As a consequence, the communities and organizations that are most in need of leaders are usually unconcerned about the problem of leadership, although this need is apparent at once to the outsider.

The problem of rural leadership is, therefore, most pressing to those who are employed as leaders, such as school principals or superintendents, ministers of churches, county agricultural and home demonstration agents, or who as outside lay leaders are executives of various organizations, such as the Red Cross, the Grange, or similar movements that are trying to build up local units.

A new principal of a school comes to a community and feels the need of a Parent-Teacher Association to support his work; he sees the opportunity for a 4-H club or a Scout

troop, but he can find no leaders. He may attempt to start one of these organizations himself, and so long as he is willing to do most of the work it may have a seeming success, but as soon as he is unable to do so the organization dies.

A new pastor comes to a church and finds that a formerly thriving young people's society is dead because of lack of leadership. Shall he try to revive it himself, or must he await finding or developing a leader?

The county agricultural agent wishes to start a local unit to support his work, or the Red Cross executive wishes to establish a local chapter, but they can find no one willing to call a meeting or who will show any initiative in the matter.

In all of these cases the professional leader or organization executive sees the need for local leadership much more clearly than do the people in the community. He will react to the situation according to his philosophy and understanding of the nature of leadership. If he assumes that leadership is something that exists or does not exist, which must be discovered, he may give up and wait until it arises. But if he believes that leadership arises out of need and that it can be created and trained, he will pursue a very different program and will try to create a sense of need out of which will grow a demand for action by the group and the recognition of someone in whom it places confidence as its leader. This leader may at first be very hesitant and timid; but with encouragement, help, and training he may become more interested and achieve a self-confidence and initiative that will make his leadership efficient.

The attitude of the professional leader toward local leadership—as to whether he appreciates that no group action can be effective without a leader, as to whether he conceives leadership as a personality trait which if effective in one group will be equally effective in another and therefore must be "discovered," or whether he understands

that leadership may be created by stimulating a sense of need—will largely determine his success. A thorough understanding of the relation of the leader to the group, of the sociology of leadership, and of the psychology of the leader and of the led is, therefore, an essential equipment for the professional leader or lay organizer.

The leaders of successful movements have not been dismayed by the seeming lack of leadership; they have created it. One of the most remarkable rural movements in recent times is that of the co-operative associations of fishermen and miners in Nova Scotia developed by Fathers Tompkins and Coady[1] and their colleagues of St. Xavier University at Antigonish. They did not go out to find leaders, but they revealed to their poverty-stricken people the possibility of collective action; they showed them how to educate themselves, and out of this process arose effective and outstanding leaders. They believed in the potential leadership of the common man. Their faith in this process doubtless came from the example of the Master of men, Jesus Christ, who created a leadership that has swayed history, out of a few Galilean fishermen, and not from the scribes.

The demand for rural leadership will be met only as those who are in positions to stimulate and train leaders have a clear understanding of just what is involved in the process of leadership, for with such insight their faith in the possibility of creating leaders will be strengthened and they will be confirmed in the conviction that the slow process of building local leadership is the surest means of any permanent rural improvement.

The following chapters are, therefore, addressed primarily to professional leaders and lay leaders in executive positions who are constantly confronted with the problems of local leadership. The first half of the book is largely concerned with the theory of leadership; for without a thorough understanding of the relationships involved, the

[1] M. M. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, New York, Harper, 1939.

practical suggestions of techniques or methods for creating and training leaders in the later chapters would not have the same significance.

Let us examine first the rôle of the leader and the different types of leaders as a basis for our further analysis.

CHAPTER II

The Rôle of the Leader and Types of Leaders

WHAT is a leader, what is involved in the relation of leadership, and how may this relationship be created and fostered are questions that must be answered by all engaged in improving rural society.

Leadership is the ability to lead or be a leader. To understand leadership we must analyze the rôle of the leader, and consider the different types of leaders. There are various connotations of the word in ordinary usage. Thus, the leading American dictionaries define a leader as follows:

1. *Standard Dictionary:* "One who, or that which, leads or conducts; a guide, a conductor, especially one who goes first; one having authority to direct; leader of an orchestra, band, etc. Syn. —chief, chieftain, commander. Nearly related terms are boss, dictator, and chief.

"Distinctions.—Chieftain, commander and leader agree in the general idea of rule and authority. Chief in civil or military affairs, as chief of police or of an Indian tribe. Chieftain of clan or tribe, or military leader. Commander directs movement of a body of men as military or naval force. A leader is one who men follow, as in a political party, a legislative body, a military or scientific expedition; one who takes the command and gives direction to particular enterprises."

2. *Century Dictionary:* "1. One who leads, guides, conducts, directs, or controls; a director or conductor; a chief or commander. 2. One who is first or most prominent in any relation; one who

takes precedence by virtue of superior qualification or influence; a recognized principal or superior; as leaders of society; a leader of the bar."

3. *Webster's New International Dictionary:* "One that leads; as: A person or animal that goes before to guide or show the way, or that precedes or directs in some action, opinion, or movement."

Although sociology must take cognizance of the more general type of leaders described in Item 2 of the definition of the *Century Dictionary,* such as "leaders of thought," "a leader of the bar," etc., its chief concern is with the relation of a leader to a definite collectivity or group, as indicated by the following statements:

Lindeman describes the leader as "An individual whose rationalizations, judgments, and feelings are accepted (responded to) by the group as bases of belief and action."[1]

Tead expresses the same view: "Leadership is the activity of influencing people to co-operate to some goal which they come to find desirable."[2]

Bernard gives a similar emphasis: "Any person who is more than ordinarily efficient in carrying psycho-social stimuli to others and is thus effective in conditioning collective responses may be called a leader."[3]

Allport does not define the leader but emphasizes the personal relation of leadership: "Leadership, according to our present usage, means the direct, face-to-face contact between leader and followers: it is personal social control."[4] He stresses this power of control and ascendance upon the part of the leader and raises the question whether leadership is wholly desirable.

Bogardus makes a similar statement: "A *leader* is a person who exerts special influence over a number of people. Everyone exercises special influence over at least a few other persons, but we cannot say that such activity is leadership. There must be both special influence and numbers of people involved.

"Leadership is personality in action under group conditions. It

[1] E. C. Lindeman. *Social Discovery,* p. 222.
[2] Ordway Tead. *The Art of Leadership,* p. 20.
[3] L. L. Bernard. *Introduction to Social Psychology,* p. 520.
[4] F. H. Allport. *Social Psychology,* p. 419.

includes dominant personality traits of one person and receptive personality traits of many persons. It is interaction between specific traits of one person and other traits of the many, in such a way that the course of action of the many is changed by the one."[5]

Pigors has given a concise definition of a leader: "Any person may be called a leader during the time when, and in so far as, his will, feeling, and insight direct and control others in the pursuit of a cause which he represents."[6]

It is evident that there are many types of leaders. A rough grouping of their characteristics may aid in determining those which are most significant in rural leadership.

1. MILITARY, POLITICAL, AND BUSINESS LEADERS

Much of the literature on leadership deals with that of great men, captains of industry, etc., which is not very significant for the study of rural leadership, but which may well be considered for its contrasts. Most of this leadership ultimately rests upon power, authority, or force; and carries with it the idea of direction emphasized in the dictionary definitions. The ecclesiastical leadership of episcopalian forms of church organization embodies the same relationship. The political boss belongs to this type. Frequently the local banker or a wealthy merchant who has economic power over others is a local leader because of his economic power.

It is increasingly evident that the best leader in any of these spheres uses as little authority as possible and that his success as a leader depends upon the degree to which he eschews authority and obtains the voluntary loyalty of those under his charge. But the mechanism of the relationship is based on power and authority; it is only when the rare man transcends this relationship and creates a new group bond of personal loyalty to him that authority is not more or less in evidence.

[5] E. S. Bogardus. *Leaders and Leadership*, p. 3. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, D. Appleton-Century Co.

[6] Paul Pigors. *Leadership or Domination?* p. 16. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Houghton Mifflin Co.

Young distinguishes this type of leadership as *headship*.

"Leadership is a form of dominance and pace-setting which rests upon the interest and acceptance by the followers as well as upon the leader's ability to handle problems. Leadership depends on submissive attitudes and habits of control on the part of the followers. Power by virtue of the inherited position or by reason of some system of promotion up the scale of authority we speak of as *headship*. The boss of a prison chain gang is not a leader. The president of a corporation, the head of a church, or an elected public official may likewise represent headship rather than genuine leadership. In a society in which there is open competition for rôle and status, headship and leadership often go together. In a caste or rigid class system this correlation may not occur."[7]

Fundamentally, the bond between the leader and follower under the relationship of authority or the power technique is one incited by fear or hope of reward upon the part of the follower.[8] Leaders of all types acquire more

[7] Kimball Young. *An Introductory Sociology,* p. 409. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, American Book Co.

[8] A good characterization of this military type of leadership is made by Arthur Harrison Miller, in his *Leadership* (pp. 8, 9): "Leadership is briefly defined in the dictionary as 'the ability to lead.' It might be defined broadly from a military point of view as the science of creating and maintaining high morale and of directing it, through the acts of men to the achieving of a definite purpose or result. Basically, this means that the ability and will of a leader must be concentrated upon the task of producing an efficient organization, possessing high morale and quickly responsive to his every order and wish.

"The thought at once arises as to what might be justly called an efficient organization. There are many ways in which an organization may be efficient, and many brands of efficiency. An organization may measure up in one way and still be deplorably lacking in another—good on the drill field and slovenly in the barracks, or *vice versa*. The one which performs all duties on an equally good level is really efficient. That we may have a single broad standard by which to judge, let us define an efficient organization as a body of human beings trained and disciplined to common action, understanding one another through the sharing of certain knowledge and bound together by a unity of will and interest which is expressed by their willingness and central obedience to the leader. It will be seen that this definition likewise expresses the *par excellence* of high morale." Reprinted by permission of the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

or less authority and power, but the extent to which authority or power is used measures their weakness as true leaders. There is always a temptation to make use of power, but power always weakens leadership. As far as the leadership relation is concerned, power that ultimately rests on force is not real, but only seeming power. Real power, so far as a leader is concerned, arises through an integration of the desires of several people so that there is a group loyalty to the collective objective or desire; and any person or any symbol which represents this objective or desire has the power of the collective support.

Thus Miss Follett says: "When you and I decide on a course of action together and do that thing, you have no power over me nor I over you, but we have power over ourselves together. We have, however, no authority over John Smith. We could try to get 'power' over him in a number of ways, and that is what LeDantec would call power, but the only legitimate power we could have in connection with John Smith is what you and John Smith and I could develop together over our three selves. . . . Genuine power is power-with; pseudo power, power-over."[9]

One of the best examples of the development of true leadership power was that of Herbert Hoover as Federal Food Administrator during the World War. Had Hoover attempted to control the use of food by orders and by force he would have had little success; but by arousing the patriotism of the people he enlisted public opinion as the most potent means of enforcing his regulations. Furthermore, in dealing with leading business men he never attempted the use of force, except when there was deliberate violation of regulations. Rather, he consulted with them as to what might best be done to accomplish certain ends; as a result, there was an integration of desires so that he had the power of these business men back of him; he had power *with* rather than *over* them.

[9] Mary P. Follett. *Creative Experience,* pp. 186 and 189. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Longmans, Green and Co.

The military or political type of leadership always tends to an undue use of power or domination. The difference between domination and leadership has been very clearly and ably analyzed by Pigors, who defines domination as:

"Domination is a process of control in which by the forcible assumption of authority and the accumulation of prestige a person (through a heirarchy of functionaries) regulates the activities of others for purposes of his own choosing."[10]

He later brings out the differences in the methods of the leader and the dominator by the statement:

"The leader liberates the energy in followers by pointing out causes which give them an opportunity to express themselves and in the service of which their powers can develop. The dominator binds his subjects because by exploiting their momentary desires or weaknesses, he forces them into a relationship which tends to keep them permanently subservient, and in which he can count on them to remain under his control."[11]

2. PROFESSIONAL LEADERS

Under this head may be included all employed leaders, such as clergymen, school teachers, principals and superintendents, executives of such organizations as the Christian Associations, Scouts, Sunday-school associations, social workers, and extension workers of all sorts.

The relationships of the professional leader will be discussed in detail later in Chapter VIII. Here it is necessary only to point out that he is employed, is not a member of the local group, and that his tenure is more or less limited. He is employed as a professional leader because he has a degree of expertness in his particular field. His function, therefore, is chiefly that of stimulator and educator.

Most of the discussion of leadership in the literature of

[10] Paul Pigors. *Leadership or Domination?* p. 74. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Houghton Mifflin Co.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

the subject has to do with the two classes above: with the military or political leader, the captain of industry, the successful minister or schoolman. But when we say that, in a given rural community, progress is impossible because of the lack of leadership, it is not these sorts of leaders to which we refer, but to the need of leadership for such local, voluntary groups as the church, the grange, the farm bureau, the women's club, the Scouts, the lodge, etc., or even of perfectly informal primary groups. It is this type of leadership that is essential for the best rural social organization. It is difficult to characterize this type of leadership in a word or phrase, but possibly Bernard's term "direct contact group" leader is as descriptive as any.

3. DIRECT-CONTACT-GROUP LEADERS

The nature of the group and of the relation of the leader to it will be considered later. The direct-contact group is one in which the members have face-to-face relations, and in which all participate more or less directly. Various forms of leadership relations in direct-contact groups may be distinguished according to whether the groups are organized or unorganized. The organized group is one which has a recognized membership, a definite structure involving mechanisms such as officers and committees, and a history; it is some sort of an organization. The unorganized group is a newly formed group or one in process of formation; or it may be an informal primary group, such as a faction of an organized group.

A. *Leaders of Unorganized Groups.* The leader of an unorganized group may have his position (1) because he has himself (either consciously or unconsciously) created a following that looks to his leadership in some cause or interest; or (2) because he has been drafted or elected to act for a group that has come together to meet some immediate problem or crisis. In the first instance the leader creates the group; in the latter, the group creates the leader. In the first instance the responsibility of the

leader is to his own idea of what he conceives to be for the good of the group; in the second, the responsibility of the leader is primarily to carry out the wishes of the group.

B. *Leaders of Organized Groups.* In the organized groups there are several relationships or categories of leadership that may be characterized according to their origin. Thus, the leadership relation may arise through:

1. Prestige of any sort
2. Social or economic status
3. Heredity
4. Seniority
5. Election
6. Leadership of a movement that the group accepts
7. Recognition of training or technical ability; e.g., a Sunday-school teacher or athletic leader

Each of these leadership relations should be studied, for each has its use and abuse; but we are here concerned only with indicating some of the many types of leadership relations.

The most important contribution of sociology concerning leadership is the insight that the leader is always a member of a group, that the position of leader is a group mechanism. Certainly this is true with direct-contact groups—and it is with leaders of such groups that we are chiefly concerned in rural life. If this be true, then we must give consideration to the nature of the group and the place of the leader in it, for we are interested in leadership as a means of directing the action of groups in desirable activities; we are interested in the leader as a mechanism for group action.

CHAPTER III

The Group and the Leader

1. THE NATURE OF THE GROUP

POSSIBLY the most fundamental concept of sociology is that human behavior is not that of entirely discrete individuals, but that we live as members of groups of persons; that our behavior, our mode of thought, our ideals, are influenced, and largely determined, by the groups to which we belong.

Just what, therefore, is a group, and how is the group related to the leader and the leader to the group?

Without attempting any comprehensive discussion of the nature of the group, which would take us too far afield in the theory of sociology, for our purposes we may define a group as consisting of two or more persons among whom there is an established pattern of psychological interaction, so that it is recognized as an entity because of its particular type of collective behavior.

There is one aspect of group association that is difficult for some to understand, but that has a direct relation to the rôle of the leader. This is the fact that, although the life of the group is determined by the wishes and interests of its members, yet the purposes and behavior of the group as a group are different from the sum of those of the members who compose it.

As a result of association in a group, a new bond is formed that has its own characteristic traits. The interaction and interstimulation between members of a group create a synthesis of their desires and wishes that is more

than and different from the sum of the wishes and desires of all the individuals composing it. The group develops its own purposes, ideals, and modes of behavior, which in turn to a greater or less degree influence the behavior of each of its members so long as they remain members of the group. The leader embodies these group ideals and purposes and thus forms a symbol of the group to its members.

Further consideration of the nature of the group is not essential at this point, for a thorough analysis of groups and their behavior would involve the whole subject matter of sociology. Each of us belongs to innumerable groups; of some of these groups we are actively conscious, while of others we have but little awareness except upon occasions that call them to our attention or through reflective thought.

2. THE LEADER AS A GROUP MECHANISM

The importance of the group in relation to leadership lies in the fact that those who have no sociological knowledge of the group seem to think of the leader as a leader of a number of discrete individuals, but do not appreciate that the type of leader in which we are interested, i.e., a rural leader, is a leader only as he is a member of a group and that the position of leader is an essential mechanism of effective group organization.

Every group exists as a means of satisfying certain purposes, wishes, or interests, of furnishing certain goods or values, to its members. In so far as the group acts with any degree of human intelligence and does not maintain itself as do animal groups merely through instinctive activities and adaptation through natural selection, this is due to the degree that its members are able to exchange their ideas and to form a consensus, and to whether there is some means of interpreting what action will best meet the common needs and wishes of the group. It is the function of the leader to be the means whereby this process can be accelerated and the group can act more efficiently.

Among primitive peoples and among young childre leadership is feeble, there is little recognition of leade ship, and the organization of the group is accordingl weak. Without a leader each member of the group talk to another and gradually they may come to a commo understanding; but, if immediate action in a critical situa tion is desired, this method is too slow to be effective. In evitably some individuals in every group are superior t others in physique, in mentality, or in assertiveness. Suc individuals in time of crisis will see the need of the grou and will inspire the confidence of their fellows so that th group will accept their suggestions and will tend to loo to them to take the lead in carrying them out. Such ar the beginnings of leadership. As mankind has progresse in social organization, the fact that a leader is essentia for group activity has been increasingly recognized, unti the leader has come to be considered a necessary institu tion of all organized group life. The leader is a mechan ism of the group and bears a relation to it quite analogou to that of the nucleus to the organic cell.

This relationship has been well described by Professo Ellwood:

"Animal societies show social leadership but very imperfectl developed. This is doubtless because they have no rapid, comple adjustments to make. Human societies, on the other hand, sho a high development of social leadership; and leadership in th social life steadily increases in importance as we ascend from th savage stage to present civilization. On account of the difficult of the adjustments they have to make, human groups have to or ganize themselves about definite leaders, men who take th initiative in thought or in action. Without such leadership huma groups would show no more capacity to make wise adjustments tha their weakest members. It is by the co-ordination, as we hav already seen, of the thought and the activities of all members o the group with the thinking and acting of some leader, who think ahead and sets an example, that human groups become capable o making superior adjustments. Nothing great is achieved in huma

society, therefore, without personal leadership. Certain individuals are therefore always better fitted than others in their group to cope with a new situation. The traditional knowledge, or beliefs, of the group and its habits of action may vary in their expression, in certain individuals, in such a way that it is greatly to the advantage of the group if this new variation is copied. Now, this element of variation from the level of the group, while existing in a slight degree in all individuals, manifests itself most favorably in exceptional individuals, whose biological make-up is probably somewhat superior to the average of their group. These persons need not necessarily be geniuses, but merely persons with capacity for initiative and leadership. It is the acceptance of their leadership which makes conscious superior adjustments in human groups possible. The creative influence of personality in social life, therefore, can never be safely left out of account in sociology, even though for the sake of brevity, explicit reference to it may be omitted in discussing social changes."[1]

It is important, therefore, to recognize that leadership —at least the sort of leadership of rural groups that we are discussing—is a product of group life and that leadership does not exist independently apart from a group. A man may be what is often termed "a natural leader": i.e., he may be assertive, self-confident, able, and genial, yet if he is not accepted by a group he has no leadership.

Every group has some sort of leadership, good or bad, strong or weak. This existing leadership cannot be ignored. The problem is whether it can be educated and strengthened or whether new leadership must be created to take its place. In any event, the success of the group depends chiefly upon the strength of its leadership, and to secure the better development of rural groups the most important matter is to improve their leadership. Failure to appreciate this fact is the basis of much of the failure of professional leadership, as we shall see when we come to discuss it.

[1] Charles A. Ellwood. *Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 158. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, D. Appleton-Century Co.

3. ORIGIN OF LEADERSHIP

As indicated in the preceding chapter, there are two types of origin of the group leader. In the first, an existing group, either newly formed or one that has lost or become dissatisfied with its leader, meets a situation that demands immediate and effective action, in which it recognizes its need for a leader. The group therefore chooses one of its number as leader—one in whom it has most confidence as being able to meet the situation. In this instance the leader is drafted or elected, and he feels primarily responsible for carrying out the wishes of the group and helping it to meet its needs as best he may. In the other type, an individual perceives an unsatisfied need or some new goods or values of which others are not generally aware; and in one way or another he interests others in making common cause to satisfy this newly created desire. This may occur as a movement within an old group or it may be an independent movement resulting in the formation of a new group; but in either case the originator usually becomes the leader of the group that he has created. The latter type is what we more commonly think of as the true leader: i.e., one who creates his following and who is able to lead because he is ahead of the group in his thinking. Most of rural leadership is probably of the first type.

These represent the two extremes as regards the origin of leadership, but the rank and file of leaders intergrade between them. Thus, the drafted leader frequently develops considerable originality and becomes a really creative leader, and the fact that he was first chosen by the group and that his position was not due to his self-assertiveness often gives him a position of strength in the confidence of the group that the more clever creative leader is unable to maintain because he tends to be always ahead of the group in his thinking. This is well illustrated by the case of Jim Henry given at the end of the chapter and is also recognized in the article by Mr. Cosline.

The following instance reported by a former student is a good example of how a permanent leadership relation originated by the leader first being drafted.

"This man had been away to school, was naturally bright, but had a retiring nature. He had spent some time working in the Twin Cities, and had been away from home more than most of the men in the community. A few years ago the question came up as to the need of a co-operative elevator in the community. The meeting had been dragging along for several hours, and as the farmers were about to give up, this man arose and said some very commonplace things, but he succeeded in making his fellow farmers see where the difficulty was. They adjourned that evening to meet in two weeks, and during that time this man was the talk of the community. He did not come to the next meeting, his modesty preventing, but his friends drove out a mile and a half, and brought him in, and made him chairman of the meeting, over which he presided so well that he was made permanent chairman. This man had never presided over a meeting, he was seldom known to say much. Since then he has held the following positions in his community: chairman and director of the co-operative elevator; is now the livestock shipping agent; town clerk; leader of the standpatters (that is, he represents them in county and state conventions, yet he is quite liberal); director of the creamery; director of the co-operative store; chairman of a threshing ring; and manager of the baseball team in his town."

Whether the leader is chosen by the group or whether he creates the group depends on whether the needed group action is so obvious and pressing that it commands the common interest and desire for action, or whether the need is only potential and is not clearly within the consciousness of the individuals. In the former instance the group senses the situation; in the latter, the individual sees the need and creates a group by bringing individuals to an awareness of it. In either instance the leadership relation arises as the result of a new situation being created.

This origin of the leadership relation in a situation has

been very well described by Butterworth[2] with regard to leadership in school administration. The leadership process in its entirety, he says, "is a conscious, adaptive process of a group similar in its fundamentals to a conscious, adaptive process of an individual. That is, there are the stages pointed out by Dewey [John Dewey. *How We Think,* Chap. VI.] in his analysis of a complete act of thought: a felt need; a definition of the difficulty; suggestions of possible solution; development of the bearings of these suggestions; and a conclusion."[3]

Butterworth recognizes three essential elements in the leadership relation: 1, the group's need for better adjustment; 2, group recognition of the need; and 3, confidence in the leader. As he indicates, this analysis has an important bearing upon the so-called qualities of leadership. "This analysis should lead us to see the incompleteness of the rather wide-spread notion that leadership grows out of the qualities possessed by the leader rather than out of the demands of the environment."[4]

Without a real need for better adjustment to the environment, whatever it may be, there can be no basis for group action. Whether a number of individuals first appreciate this need, either in an existing group or by forming themselves into a group, or whether it is first perceived by an individual who obtains a following by those who accept his interpretation, determines whether the leader is drafted by the group or is the creator of it. The need for adjustment to a situation may not necessarily result in the creation of a new leader, for the leadership may be executed by an established or recognized leader, but it does give rise to a new leadership relation.

This necessity of the group adjusting to the changing environment involves a possibility of a change of leader-

[2] Julian E. Butterworth. *Rural School Administration,* Chaps. X, XI.
[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 194-195.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 197. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Co.

ship with the changing needs of the group. Once established, the leader tends to maintain his position as long as his interpretation of group desires and his plans for group action enable the group to succeed. But when new situations arise and the old leader fails to appreciate the real desires of most of the group or is unable to suggest effective working plans for its action, then someone who sees the solution of the situation comes forward and is recognized as leader. At such times, whether the group goes forward or whether it is dominated by the old leader depends upon the relative strength of the group and of the leader. Thus, leadership is not a matter of innate qualities or of general training; for one type of man will make an excellent leader in one situation, whereas a decidedly different type may be necessary to conserve his predecessor's successes.

Some leadership is but temporary or occasional. For example, consider the common incident of a number of rural people assembled for a social or party, all just sitting around and no one knowing just what to do. Then someone who has not been a leader comes in and shows how to play some games that they enjoy. For the time he is the leader; and, if he be a member of the group, by occasional repetition of this function, he may acquire a position of leadership in other matters, or his leadership may be recognized only on similar occasions.

The eternal contest between the older and younger generation also affects the choice of leaders. The older method is to recognize seniority, but increasingly the younger generation finds the elders incapable of sensing the rapid readjustments necessary in a more complex civilization and insists upon the recognition of efficiency as the essential of leadership.

4. FUNCTIONS OF THE LEADER IN THE GROUP

Among the more important functions of the leader in the group are the following:

(a) He is the group spokesman. If the group is to have relations with other groups, someone must be able to state the group opinion. The group cannot function without a voice, and, if all of its members attempt to speak for it, only confusion results. Hence, groups delegate their leaders to speak for them.

(b) He is the group harmonizer. Every group is bound together by certain interests, while some of the members have different interests that tend to create conflict between them. The leader is successful in so far as he is able to magnify the common interests of the group so that each member represses his differences upon other subjects in allegiance to the accepted policies and activities of the group. The leader must be able to think with the group and yet maintain a certain independence of judgment so that he is not overswayed by the dissensions and personal interests of its members. He must be able to see their common interests so clearly that he can reveal them to the members and make them superior to their repressed interests. His functions as harmonizer and planner are thus interdependent.

(c) He is a group planner. He really leads only in so far as he is always just a little ahead of the group in seeing its needs and in planning ways of meeting them. The loyalty of the group depends very largely upon its confidence in his ability to originate the best plans for its welfare. This does not mean that the group should not plan for itself, but that it looks to the leader for initiative in planning. Indeed, the wisest leaders are those who encourage their groups to do their own planning through various committees and who themselves merely stimulate and guide the planning process. The group that depends on the leader for its plans will more quickly repudiate his leadership when they are unsuccessful, whereas if they themselves have made the plans, the leader need not bear all the onus of any failure.

(d) He is the group executive. Just as he is spokes-

man for the group, so he must act as its executive: that is, one who directs the carrying out of its policies and plans. In this he has opportunity to exercise one of the chief functions of true leadership: the development of more diversified leadership. It is an old saying that a good executive is one who can choose others to carry on the work, while he concerns himself with planning and policies. So the best group leader will stimulate others to take minor tasks of leadership and thus better accomplish the objectives of the group and promote its solidarity, and at the same time be developing leaders who can replace him. (See page 39.)

(e) He is the group educator. As a group planner, he must get the group to see the solution of its problems, and action cannot proceed successfully until they are convinced of the feasibility of the methods agreed upon. Thus, if his vision is ahead of the members of the group, he must assume the rôle of educator until they agree with him or until a consensus has been reached. As educator, he must recognize the merits of whatever opposition there may be to his views (for usually there is some truth in any sincere opposition), and the factors involved must be reconciled before sufficient unanimity can be obtained. Successful group action cannot occur without a wholehearted belief in its desirability by a goodly majority of the group, and to achieve this may require a considerable period of educational discussion.

This function of the leader is of particular importance with rural groups. Urban groups, particularly business men, have become more accustomed to quick decisions and to the trial of new methods. The type of leadership that tries to "put things over" is usually not acceptable to rural groups. They must be allowed time to "visit" and to think things over before arriving at a decision. The leader who attempts to "rush" a decision may carry his point, but he may be surprised at the lack of support he subsequently receives in carrying it out.

(f) He is a symbol of the group ideals. He must, therefore, be loyal to these ideals in word and deed. This involves a primary loyalty to the interests of the group of which he is the leader. As soon as the group feels that the leader is really more interested in himself or in some other group, its confidence is shaken and his leadership wanes. This is particularly noticeable with professional leaders. The clergyman or school principal who is obviously using his present position merely as a means of obtaining a better one as soon as possible, soon loses the confidence of his people; for they very rightly feel that his attention should be on their needs, and they commence to desire someone who will devote himself wholeheartedly to their welfare.

5. RELATION OF LEADER TO MEMBERS

The relation of the leader to members of the group as a symbol of their purposes and ideals is a subtle one that is self-perpetuating and cumulative as long as it exists. It is a case of what psychologists call a system of "circular response"; that is, a response made to a stimulus itself becomes a stimulus that sets off as a response a repetition of the original stimulus, so that there is a circular system of stimulus-response. The individual is loyal to the leader because in making a response to a stimulus from the leader he is also stimulated by the belief that the leader will so act as to fulfill his desires if he does what the leader suggests. On the other hand, the confidence of the members of the group acts as a stimulus to the leader to make those responses which are desired by them. For example, you are appointed as a member of a Community Chest committee to canvass for subscriptions. The chairman has undertaken a difficult task, but he has always made good in similar enterprises and his committee has confidence in him. His confidence in your ability to obtain the quota assigned you stimulates you to do your best, for you have faith in the chairman's ability to raise the quota for the

district. Without such faith you would only do as well as you thought others would do. Furthermore, you are interested to see the campaign a success and you know that, if each member of the group does not do his part, the chairman cannot succeed. The measure of your effort, or your response to the stimulus of the chairman, will be the degree of your faith in him.

As one idealizes the leader, he acts toward him as the best means for realizing his own ideals. Thus the leader becomes a symbol for the ideals and purposes of the group. In so far as the leader realizes these ideals and purposes, he is able to form the stimulus for the necessary responses of members of the group, and thus the effect upon the individual member of the group and upon the power of the leader is cumulative as long as the relation remains effective.

There is another type of circular response between the leader and his group, which has been well expressed by a former colleague[5] who is a keen observer of rural groups. "It seems," he says, "that people don't rally around a leader unless the leader *needs* them. Congress turned against the late President Wilson when he indicated that he didn't need their help." That is, when the members of a group feel that the leader is acting independently of them, they suspect that he may be pursuing his own purposes and not those of the group; they fear his possible domination. On the other hand, so long as he depends upon their support and consults with them, they are sure that he is representing their common purposes. The leader who sincerely tells his group that he is dependent upon them for the achievements desired and who gives each full recognition for his services thereby wins their loyalty and stimulates their support.

This being the fact, it seems obvious that the position

[5] Professor Ralph A. Felton, of Drew University, formerly extension professor of rural social organization at Cornell University, from whose field notes the quotation is taken.

of the leader will be stronger when it is based upon true sympathy between himself and members of the group rather than upon prestige, authority, or fear. As soon as the leader attempts to drive or drag, the true relation of leadership is weakened. On the other hand, the leader who is able to put himself in the place of the members of the group and who senses their desires and earnestly seeks to satisfy them, has their loyalty because of their realization that through him they may satisfy their own desires and because of a reciprocal devotion to him incited by his devotion to their interests.

This trust in a leader gives a sense of security to the individual members, which makes their submission to his leadership satisfying to them, as described by Carleton Parker:

> "Eternal independence and its necessary strife are too wearing on the common man, and he looks for peace and protection in the shadow of a trust-inspiring leader. To submit under right conditions is not only physically pleasant, but much of the time to be leaderless is definitely distressing."[6]

Witness the unrest of a group that has lost its leader. Furthermore, if one is a leader in one or two groups, he may not desire more responsibility and he prefers to submit to competent leadership in other groups and is uneasy without it for fear he may have to assume it. This attitude of submission doubtless depends upon the complexity of the problems facing the group and their inability to comprehend them, as in the case of the American public upon the inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This attitude of submission seems to be more evident in the more impersonal and complex groups, whereas small personal groups often seem to resent leadership. Possibly this may account for the difficulty of obtaining recognition of leadership in small rural groups, where the

[6] Carleton Parker. "Motives in Economic Life," *American Economic Review Supplement,* Mar., 1918, p. 25.

relationship is highly personal and involves an all-round response to personal characteristics.

This human tendency to submit to leadership has been well analyzed by Edman:

"This impulse to follow and submit to something not ourselves and more dominating than ourselves is very strong in most men. . . . Men instinctively long to be led, especially if, as happens in the case of most individuals, there is in them a marked absence of definite interest, conviction, or skill. This instinct is aroused by any sign of exceptional power, or, more generally still, by any exceptional conspicuousness, whether socially useful or not. Men follow leaders partly because men live in groups with common interests and in any large-scale organization leadership is necessary. . . . Self-dependence stands out as a virtue or an accomplishment precisely because most men feel so utterly at sea without any loyalty, allegiance, or devotion. Anyone who has spent a summer at a boy's camp will recall the helplessness of youngsters to mark out a program for themselves and to keep themselves happy on the one afternoon when there was no official program of play. Half the mischief performed on such occasions is initiated by some boy with just a little more independence and persuasiveness than the others. And it is not only among children that there is evinced an almost pathetic bewilderment and unrest in the absence of a leader. There is an equally pathetic and sometimes dangerous attachment among adults to the first sign of leadership that makes its appearance. The demoralizing authority of the ward heeler is sometimes dependent on no more trustworthy an index of real power than a booming voice, a rough camaraderie, and a physically 'big' personality. And there are, on the other hand, instances where lack of leadership seemed to be the chief reason why certain classes of labor were unable to make their demands effective at a much earlier date than they did. In the first really big strike in the telephone industry in Boston during the autumn of 1918 success seems to have been chiefly due to the remarkable leadership of one of the young women operators, a type of leadership which seems to have appeared nowhere else in the telephone industry. . . .

"This pronounced tendency on the part of human beings to follow a lead, and anybody's lead, as it were, has the most serious

dangers. It means that a man with qualities that sway men's emotions and stir their imaginations can attach to himself the profoundest loyalties for personal or class ends. The gifts of personal magnetism, of a kindly voice, an air of confidence and calmness, exuberant vitality, and a sensitivity to other people's feelings, along with some of the genuine qualities of effective and expert control of men and affairs, may be used by a demagogue as well as by a really devoted servant of the popular good, by an Alcibiades as well as by a Garibaldi, by a conquering Napoleon as well as by a Lincoln."[7]

In a personal group a real affection for the leader will usually develop among the members, but if this affection or personal loyalty is allowed to dominate the relationship and becomes the main tie, it may result in a weakening of the morale of the group when a shift of leadership is necessary, since their loyalty has become attached to the leader as a person and thus dominates or replaces their devotion to the avowed interests and objectives of the group. Such personal loyalty may be the strength of a gang or a clan, but it often disrupts a church or other more impersonal groups. This affection of the members for a leader also gives rise to one of the most subtle temptations of the leader, who may use it to advance his own interests rather than those of the group.

Personal affection for a sympathetic leader seems to be essential for small rural groups, for country people tend to assert themselves through loyalty to persons rather than to abstract principles.[8] Again I quote Professor Felton's observation of certain seemingly efficient, well-trained and conscientious leaders of rural women's groups, but who were unable to command their affection. "I am not sure,"

[7] Irwin Edman. *Human Traits,* p. 116. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Houghton Mifflin Co.

[8] Cf. C. H. Cooley. *Social Organization,* p. 144. "The many, whether rich or poor, are incompetent to grasp the truth in its abstractness, but they reach it through personal symbols, they feel their way by sympathy, and their conclusions are at least as apt to be right as those of any artificially selected class."

he says, "but that the first qualification of a good rural leader is someone that everyone likes whether she knows much about her business or not; for, unless people like their leader, it doesn't seem that their seemingly brilliant qualities for leadership and their efficient training make much difference."

6. A LEADER BEGETS LEADERS

Lastly, a measure of the best leadership is the amount of leadership which it develops in others. The strongest group is one in which there are several potential leaders, each of whom is a leader for some particular phase of the group life and any one of whom might take the place of the recognized leader and successfully lead the group activities. The successful leader seeks to discover, enlist, and develop such leaders and to give them the largest possible responsibility, in order that the future success of the group may be assured without regard to his presence. Instead of being jealous of competition, he encourages others to assume leadership. Many an apparently successful leader seems to delight in trying to do the whole job himself; but his success is only superficial, for as soon as he leaves or is displaced the group is no stronger than it was before he assumed leadership. This is one of the paradoxes of the best leadership. The greatest leader is one who so develops leadership in others that the group can go on without him.[9]

AN ANALYSIS OF THE LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES AND METHODS OF A SINGLE INDIVIDUAL*

Jim Henry is a small man, about five feet six, ordinary build, brown eyes, black hair, dark complexioned, smiling, friendly. He is active, a hard worker, a fair athlete, enjoys playing ball with boys from six to sixty and always plays in local "pick up" ball games at picnics, but never leads in them. He wears an old brown

[9] Cf. Pigors, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

* By Ray E. Wakeley.

hat and can be seen along Main Street almost any time of day talking things over with those with whom he comes in contact, not always with friends. He is always in a hurry, but never gets anywhere on time because he stops too long to talk. His friends have named him "Wait-a-Minute." He does not abuse confidence and so enjoys the confidence of nearly everybody. He is strictly honest and of sterling character and morally clean, but human.

He is one of the better farmers in the county but by no means the best. Farm-management people would not be pleased by his lack of attention to detail and his apparent lack of order and system. He sometimes neglects his farm to attend to other matters in which bread and butter are not involved. He lives in a plain little house and has been going to build a better and more convenient one for ten years, but is never able to take the time or to find the money. His farm equipment is good.

He has a normal-school education and taught school for a number of years, but was forced to give it up because of nerves, which became incorrigible and brought on severe attacks of indigestion from which he still suffers occasionally. He is a fair artist with the brush and some of his pictures adorn their home. He never has time to paint any more. He rather hesitates to educate his children beyond the high school because he seems to fear what the effect of their education may be and what effect the wide world may have upon them if they leave the parental roof. These fears are very real to him; I do not know why. They appear to be unjustified.

He is a good listener, but an exceedingly poor speaker both in voice and in content, and he knows it. He is poor at conducting meetings; lets them drag on without end.

Judging by these facts, we would say that Jim is a nice, likable, harmless fellow but of too weak a personality to be much of a leader. He has a rather arbitrary old dad, with whom he has learned to get along remarkably well. He does know how to get along with people and likes them, meeting them on a common level. Judging by appearances, as a leader, Jim would be in the "also-ran" class. Let us look at his record.

Perhaps it was his school-teaching experience that prompted it; at any rate, during the fifteen years before I knew him, Jim had served as secretary of the local grange, afterwards overseer and then master. When the Dairymen's League was organized in his county, he accompanied the organizer and was instrumental

in organizing several local branches in the county. He became secretary of the local branch and afterwards president. Soon after this, he became secretary of the county or Pomona Grange and secretary of the county branch of the Dairymen's League organization.

Eight years ago he became committeeman for the then newly organized Farm Bureau and two years later he became secretary. For the past four years he has been president of the Farm Bureau. For some time he has been dropping out of local offices because of the great demand on his time made by his wider leadership. At present he holds no local community or neighborhood offices, though he still maintains his local leadership as previously explained.

From 1918 to 1922 he was state assemblyman representing his county in the state assembly. Before that time he had considerable contact with politics locally and had been county committeeman for some time. Since his terms in the legislature, several attempts have been made to get him again actively into politics. He is glad to be free from the restraint that hung over him and cannot be induced to attempt a political campaign. His movements, actions, and speech have been much freer since he quit politics. He is not yet outspoken, but then he was almost secretive.

During the past five years, he has served as director of the Dairymen's League for a district composed of three counties. His leadership in this organization has been challenged several times, but unsuccessfully.

At present he is also director of a local hospital, of a local co-operative feed store, and of a local bank. His energy is now taken up mostly by the Dairymen's League and by the Farm Bureau. He is a real leader in these two organizations. His affiliation with the other organizations came about through his Dairymen's League and Farm Bureau leadership and through the prestige following his two terms in the legislature. He is not a leader in these three other groups, though more or less actively engaged by work arising from his official connection with them.

How can a man with seemingly so few outside indications or attributes of the leader accomplish all this? What are his methods? Let us see some of his activities.

His own local neighborhood is split into two factions and he is the leader of the dominant faction, though he no longer holds office in any of the neighborhood groups. He has two capable

and trustworthy lieutenants, who do the work and get the credit. It is significant that these two men do not get along well together unless Jim is there on hand to keep relations amicable.

The neighborhood and two others join to make a limited service or open country community. In this community, Jim's influence in the grange, the schools, the telephone lines and the electric lines, and in road building, is very great. Here, again, he holds no office or position of leadership, but his leadership is clearly recognized and is extremely valuable to him in his wider contacts.

Jim has few enemies and never openly antagonizes them and never tries to belittle them with words. He gets keen enjoyment in out-maneuvering them. His favorite method is to work them into a dilemma by getting their group to agree with him and, thus, put their leader "in a hole."

He discusses what he is interested in with everybody he meets. He keeps his ear to the ground. He listens to his group and is always on the lookout to further its interests. He is at his best when carrying out a project backed solidly by the group and will not proceed without its backing. He will not try to put across his ideas as such, but attempts to get the group to adopt them and, then, pushes them as ideas of his group.

He is an artful questioner and harmonizes the group by promoting full discussion until all the group understands the proposition. If he sees that a member does not understand, but is somewhat diffident, he will often ask questions for the benefit of the group member and often plans to see such a one privately, after the meeting, when the whole thing is made plain.

He does not like to be conspicuous and prefers to be one of a group of leaders. This group leadership trait is quite prominent in Jim; though he makes no conscious effort to train leaders, he gives them a chance and encourages them. He does not attempt to ingratiate himself into the favor of the group.

Jim does not lead in the sense that men follow him. He stays with the group, but in such close touch with them that he knows the group and can see just a little farther than other group members. They say his judgment is good; that he is a man of vision; that he outlines sound policies.

If this way differs from the way of the group, he tries to find out what is the matter with his point of view. He feels that the group is the final determiner of right, but he will work day and

night to persuade them to adopt what he feels to be a more sound point of view.

He can handle rather touchy individuals. Two of his most loyal supporters are men who have to be "it" or they won't play. He had a hired man for years that no one else could get along with.

Jim is a fine democratic type of primary group leader and, if he were to turn professional, he could not change his basis of work nor his method. He does a lot of traveling and visiting to keep in personal touch with his group. He is not a "natural" leader popularly considered, but a leader chosen by the group to fulfil its purpose.

He is the group planner, harmonizer, and, sometimes, but less often, its spokesman. He is in sympathy with the group, represents its ideals, and is above all the focal point of group interaction. He usually suggests ways and means and favors indirect suggestion.

Jim is not worried about his prestige, but it has risen mightily in my eyes since I started this analysis. Before that time, Jim seemed like quite an ordinary or, perhaps, a mediocre fellow. Instead, he is the real thing.

WHAT IS A FARM LEADER?*

By what process does a farmer arrive at the point where he is accepted by his neighbors as a leader? Every community has its men to whom the majority look before daring to state their opinion as to the outcome of a new idea or organization. Much has been said about the need for farm leadership, but little about how to secure it or how to improve the leadership already existing.

I doubt whether many of these men have consciously striven for their position among their fellows; in fact, it often seems that they are modest to the extent that they seldom seek an office or state an opinion unless asked for it, seeming to feel that their ideas are scarcely worth giving. We do have with us many men who are the exact opposite of this. Men who are striving for a place among their fellows for personal glory, and they frequently get it, because they are willing and eager, and the other fellow who should have the place is too big a man to need the push which the office or position might give him.

* By H. L. Cosline. Reprinted from *The Dairymen's League News*, Mar. 14, 1924, with permission of the publishers.

Although not voicing his opinion loudly nor often, the man whose judgment is respected among his fellows is not afraid to give it when occasion arises. He does not need to wait till he hears what John Smith or Bill Jones thinks about it before making up his mind what he thinks. A man who does that is a follower, not a leader. I know a man who was the first in his community to sign a Dairymen's League contract. Many of his neighbors have more wealth, and may be better farmers; in fact, I think that men sometimes wonder why he is a leader among his friends. To a large extent, it is because he makes up his own mind and is not afraid to state his opinion and back it up.

However, that isn't all that is necessary. The opinion stated must prove to be correct in the majority of instances. We all know men who are quite free to express their opinion, but it usually proves to be wrong. Those men do not acquire many followers. The farmer with the influence doesn't change his mind too easily, even when it looks as though he might be wrong. One man has lost many followers simply because his fellow farmers feel that he changes his mind too frequently. At the same time, our leader, when he finds that he has been wrong, is not afraid to acknowledge it. Sticking to an opinion after it proves to be wrong isn't a mark of strength, but is likely to be regarded as "mulish."

It is usually true, too, that this leader is a man who has the interest of the community at heart, and who is unselfish enough to sacrifice some of his time and effort in striving to improve it. This man who states his opinions, sticks to them and is proven by time to be correct most of the time, still lacks one thing if he uses his ability to further his own interests at the expense of others. His neighbors are likely to be suspicious of such a man. It may help to explain why mere possession of wealth does not secure a man leadership among farmers. In fact, I believe wealth is bowed down to less among farmers than most classes of people.

There is a lot of latent ability waiting for discovery among farmers. I sat in a meeting a few years ago and saw a farmer elected to a responsible position, when I was frankly scared as to the results because the position was so responsible, and I had seen no evidence that the man was big enough for it. Others must have known him better, for he not only measures up to his job, but has stepped up once and is seriously considered for a still more respon-

sible position. Since the day he was elected to his first place at least a dozen people have remarked to me or in my hearing that he has developed leadership to a remarkable extent.

This ability to lead requires some training. It doesn't matter how the training is secured. Granges or farmers' clubs give an opportunity for it. It sometimes seems that farmers are inclined to be doubtful about men who have school training, yet it seems that they are only waiting to see how they will prove themselves. They are unwilling to accept training as a guarantee that a man can think straight; but, if he proves that he can, they won't object to the time he has spent in school.

A man with little training, but with ability, may rise to a position of influence. Have we not seen instances where such men have done harm by opposing some move which they did not understand, or supporting something the harm of which they could not see? Leadership, even if it is not sought, entails a responsibility.

Relatively few men seek it, but, after all, would it not be better if they did? Surely, there is nothing ignoble in seeking such a place if the motives are for the good of the community.

CHAPTER IV

What Is Leadership?

When we say that a certain community or group has no leadership, two questions at once arise if we wish to determine what may be done to improve this situation. First, do we mean that there is no potential leadership there, that the people are incapable of acting as leaders (or, in other words, is there something innate about leadership); or do we merely mean that no effective leaders are in evidence? If the latter, it is to be assumed that circumstances have not been such as to incite individuals to act as leaders. This raises the second question as to whether we may create leadership by proper stimuli and training.

Just what is this relation that we call leadership? When we speak of leadership, we refer to the ability to lead or the act of leading. We say, "He lacks leadership," and "Under his leadership," or "His leadership was unusual." In the latter instance we refer merely to the act of his leading, but in the former we seem to imply that the individual lacks a feature of character termed leadership. The question is: Does he lack this leadership on all occasions and for all sorts of situations, or does he sometimes show leadership? And, in either instance, is this due to an inherent or innate absence of ability, or is it merely due to the fact that he has had no opportunity, encouragement, or training for taking the part of a leader? These are fundamental questions that will largely influence our attitude and procedure concerning leadership.

Frequently we hear it said, "He is a born leader." To

what extent are leaders born or made? Obviously such statements mean that one is born with certain qualities that inevitably make him a leader. Furthermore, there is usually implied the idea that such a person was observed to lead among his playmates as a child and that, as he grew older, he seemed naturally to assume or be drawn into the place of leader in whatever group he entered. I presume we shall all agree that there are certain persons of whom we could think that we would place in this category: people of exuberant personality, whose surplus energy naturally secures a following. Yet certain questions arise with regard to these "born leaders." Does this native "leadership" last throughout life or is it more apparent and effective during childhood, youth, and young manhood? Are most of the leaders among groups of adults persons who were previously leaders as children or youth, or have they acquired their leadership with maturity? Again, is the "born leader" a leader of all sorts of groups or of certain types of groups or in certain types of situations? I seem to remember several leaders of my childhood who became quite ordinary adults; whereas others who were never outstanding as children have become strong leaders. Furthermore, is it not true that he who may have been a "born leader" in a boys' gang and on the college athletic field or in fraternity life may later become a leader in lodge life, or politics, but by no means be capable of leadership among business, educational, religious, or other groups to which he belongs?

So far as I know no one has made any systematic study of these matters to determine to what extent these "born leaders" are leaders throughout life or in various types of groups, nor have any personnel or mental tests been perfected that indicate those traits of leadership that are chiefly innate rather than acquired.

Yet I presume we would agree that there are certain personal qualities that we commonly recognize as innate that qualify for leadership and whose possession brings

those so endowed into positions of leadership. 1. A good physique, strength, stature, are physical qualities that have always commanded respect and are advantageous, other things being equal; but these qualities become less important as society becomes more complex, providing always that the leader has sufficient strength or endurance to maintain his efficiency. 2. Self-assertiveness and self-confidence are qualities that seem to be inborn in some individuals, and that, if not excessive and if combined with other qualities, tend to secure leadership. 3. Superior mental ability is undoubtedly innate and makes it easier for individuals so endowed to become leaders providing they are willing to assume the responsibilities involved. 4. Amiability, friendliness, and sympathy, also seem to be traits that are natural to some individuals and that greatly increase their chances of leadership.

In a study of the personality characteristics of county agricultural agents, Director H. C. Ramsower[1] found that "integrity, perseverance, faith, ability to plan, vision, initiative, and courage" were the characteristics in which the most successful agents ranked highest, while "enthusiasm, vision, ability to plan, and initiative" were the qualities in which the poorest agents ranked lowest.

An individual who is concerned solely with his own affairs may possess many of these characteristics, but if he does not associate with others in group activities, they will not give him any position of leadership, while individuals lacking in some of them but who become interested in the activities of a group may gradually develop them when given encouragement and opportunity. It is in the opportunity to develop traits of this sort that such youth organizations as the Scouts and 4-H Clubs are particularly valuable for building attitudes essential for potential leadership.

[1] H. C. Ramsower. "Some Aspects of a Study of Leadership," in *Proceedings of the 30th Convention of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges,* held Nov. 17, 1925, pp. 236-243.

With all of these "traits," however, notable examples might be cited of individuals lacking certain ones who have purposefully attained them and thus qualified themselves for positions of leadership, although it must be admitted that these individuals seem to have been peculiarly endowed with a tenacity of purpose that enabled them to overcome their weaknesses and to achieve success.

On the other hand, how frequently have new situations created crises that have called out qualities in individuals that were never recognized or that have aroused purposes and devotion that have made seemingly ordinary individuals assume positions of leadership for which they themselves realize their limitations better than anyone else, but who have succeeded as leaders because of their loyalty to the cause for which the group stands!

Not infrequently persons of ordinary ability, who lack self-confidence, and who have had no experience as leaders, when they are encouraged to assume positions of leadership and are given some concrete help or training for it, develop into excellent leaders for specific groups. Their ability was not outstanding and they lacked self-assertiveness so that they never had become leaders, but after gaining a little self-confidence they became excellent leaders because of their devotion to a cause in which they were sufficiently interested to try to learn how they might help in its advancement.

On the other hand, there are many persons of undoubted ability who seem to have all the qualifications for leadership, but who are unwilling to assume its responsibilities, or who are so self-centered that groups will not trust them as leaders.

It seems evident, therefore, that leadership, in itself, is not something innate, but that certain individuals are born with certain biological assets that make them better qualified for leadership, and that whether or not they become leaders depends upon their purposes and other traits of character. On the other hand, persons of ordi-

nary capacity, or those who by training or other environmental influences have never had sufficient self-assertion to secure a place of leadership often become effective leaders.

This being true, the question arises as to whether it is possible to discover the sort of circumstances that stimulate these seemingly ordinary people to assume places of leadership, so that we may be able to create such circumstances as seem adapted to stimulating leadership, and, furthermore, whether we may not be able to devise some specific methods of training which will aid in the development of leadership. The first question is one of how to stimulate purposes; the second is whether the ability to lead can be taught.

Here, again, we face the question whether leadership is a general attribute incited by the same stimuli and educable in the same way for all purposes; that is, does one possess leadership that will enable him to lead in any sort of a group under varied circumstances, or is leadership a specific relation within a particular field of education? Can one secure "an education" that will function in all phases of life or must we educate for specific purposes? I understand that educators hold to the latter view and that only in so far as an ability in one field has to do with factors that are identical in another situation, in another field of knowledge or activity, is there a transfer of ability. It is true, of course, that the man who is broadly educated will be able to adapt himself more readily to new conditions because he will be more open minded and will be able to analyze the situation and arrive at sound conclusions more easily. To the extent that this educational ideal becomes realized, education, in this sense, will be a very real asset toward leadership.

Leadership, however, depends not only upon the abilities of the individual, but upon the nature and changing purposes of the group of which he may become leader. First, is it true that there are certain qualities that will

qualify for leadership in any sort of a group? Doubtless it is true that those qualities previously mentioned as contributing to what we call the "born leader"—physique, self-assertiveness, superior mental ability, amiability, sympathy, etc.—make for leadership in any group, and to the extent that these may be increased by educational methods, leadership is more possible. But it is equally true that the knowledge, abilities, and disposition that make an effective leader of a literary club will not qualify him equally as leader of a poker club, a bar association, a trade union, a political club, or a co-operative association. Nor will the same type of leader be equally successful or even acceptable in the same organization at different periods in its history. Although its essential purposes remain the same, its immediate purposes necessary to adapt it to changing environmental situations vary from time to time. Thus, a Grange at one moment needs a new hall and therefore a certain type of leadership; a little later it needs a leader who can get hold of the young people or who can unite all elements of the organization who have become estranged by conflicts in other groups to which they belong. There can, therefore, be no such thing as leadership in general. There are certain abilities and attributes that are advantageous for leadership in most situations, but the abilities and knowledges that make for leadership in one group or situation are different from those applicable to others. Leadership is a relation, and it must always be specific; that is, one is always a leader for a particular group and for a particular situation.

I am inclined to think that this rather common notion that there is a sort of inborn or native leadership that may function in various groups arises from the fact that many groups have been more or less dominated by leaders of the political or economic life of the community. In how many instances are churches, lodges, school boards, and all sorts of organizations dominated by men who are allowed to lead because they are recognized economic lead-

ers and control sources of income, whereas they may be men of no real vision of the needs of these organizations and unable to arouse any loyal following in the group? Yet they are recognized leaders and, because they are able to maintain a certain degree of efficiency, people come to feel that there is a general ability or attribute of leadership. Such an idea of leadership may also be due in part to thinking of leadership in terms of prestige or that it is largely a matter of prestige. Now prestige[2] is an imputed attribute with almost magical qualities, and where it is the chief element of leadership, leadership often becomes endowed with an unknown something that will function in various groups and circumstances. As a matter of fact, this is more or less true in England and Europe, where what is called leadership very largely resides among the aristocracy and is due chiefly to their prestige.

Returning now to our first question as to whether it is possible to stimulate leadership, we have already largely answered the question. What we ordinarily speak of as stimulating leadership is stimulating the desire to lead by inciting motives of desire for prestige, desire for control, ambition, desire for service, etc. We hear a great deal about the college training for leadership, stimulating leadership, etc. Educators and executives of youth organizations have stressed the importance of training for leadership. Now, in so far as this refers to training for specific jobs such as that of a county agricultural agent, or a physical director of a gymnasium, or a Sunday-school teacher, or a Scout leader, it is justified and desirable. On the other hand, if these organizations seek to train for leadership in general (and this seems to be the implication), there is an assumption that the training will qualify people for all sorts of positions of leadership, and that it

[2] Pigors, *op. cit.*, p. 96. "Authority rests its claim on facts and is respected for this reason, while prestige may be gained by the mere appearance of power. This contrast is successfully brought out by Leopold's analysis of prestige." [See Bibliography.]

should stimulate a desire for leadership. As a result, there is created in their minds a sense of superiority—a feeling that they are peculiarly qualified for assuming leadership and that it is their duty and privilege to seek and assume positions of leadership for the benefit of their less fortunate fellows. Needless to say, as soon as this attitude comes up against the realities of everyday life it gets some pretty hard knocks. If the would-be leader is not disregarded, his leadership is likely to be more artificial than real; the relationship is one in which the group permits the assumption of leadership to satisfy the self-assertiveness or vanity of the would-be leader, and the relationship is of no permanent significance.

The fundamental conditions of leadership lie, first, in the devotion of the leader to the welfare of the group and, secondly, in such knowledge and ability as will enable the individual to guide the activities of the group. Both are essential. Given the knowledge and ability, will the desire for leadership secure that devotion to the group that is essential for real leadership? Will not such a desire for leadership or conscious thought of being a leader tend to impede the relation that is essential for real leadership? Is not the important thing that the would-be leader forget himself and devote himself in every way possible to working out ways and means of accomplishing those things that are essential for the group welfare? This may very often involve his encouraging someone else to assume leadership or to become a more effective leader. It may be objected that the former is the real leader. This is true, in a sense, but he is only a potential leader inasmuch as he is not recognized by the group. Eventually, if circumstances so arise, he may be recognized by the group as leader or may build up a following of his own for some particular cause; but, if he is to do so, the essential thing is that he shall be primarily devoted to some cause—and devoted to it without thought of his own leadership. This attitude toward

leadership is, of course, exactly what was most clearly taught by Jesus, in such passages as

"But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted." Matt. 23: 11, 12.

This general idea toward stimulating a desire for leadership, was first brought home to me by a remark of S. J. Lowell, formerly master of the New York State and National Granges. During Farmers' Week some years ago I gave a talk on leadership at a Grange conference. After the meeting Mr. Lowell came up to me and commended my remarks, but said that he felt I would get farther in developing leadership if I would put the emphasis on the idea of service, rather than on that of leadership. He felt that colleges were glorifying leadership too much, and that, as a result, college students go out with the idea that it is their main job to be leaders, rather than to do the ordinary work of the farm or shop; that they are incited to the idea of trying to be leaders, and that their attention is, therefore, rather on leadership than on service; and that the important thing is for them to be willing to do whatever they can do best for their organization or community and let the group take care of the leadership. The more I thought of this remark the more I became convinced that it is essentially correct. If our previous analysis of the relation of leader and group is true, we can see why those who seek leadership do not always attain it. Now this is not to say that college graduates and all others should not seek to lead in the discovery and invention of truth, in maintaining tolerance and open-mindedness, in being willing to stand up for new ideas or to make new interpretations of old ideas to meet the needs of the times. These are all acts of leadership in a certain sense, but they are incited by a desire to promote the ultimate welfare of the group even in spite of temporary unpopularity and are not directed toward establishing a relation of leader-

ship with a group. But the emphasis on leadership and leadership technique, except as it is for specific jobs, tends to bring about an attitude of self-consciousness that inevitably sets the individual apart from the group he seeks to lead. Indeed, this same tendency is one of which those who are in training for specific jobs of leadership may well beware. They need to learn that groups will value their service in so far as they are able to render expert service for particular purposes, but that a group will not give them a position of leadership except as it is acquired through the ordinary processes of selection or recognition by the group. Indeed, the attempted assertion of leadership by one who is specially trained may often prevent the very service he wishes to render.

It would seem, therefore, that if we would stimulate real leadership, it would be better to give training in specific techniques according to the interests and personal qualifications of the persons involved, and to arouse in them a desire to be useful in the groups in which they associate, rather than a desire to lead. Usefulness rather than leadership should be the motivation in training potential leaders. This is the principle involved in the training schools for local project leaders that have been so widely and successfully used by Home Bureau executives in New York State and elsewhere.

Therefore, the essential thing in stimulating leadership is to give people a vision of the social tasks that need to be performed within the various groups to which they belong, and the possible satisfactions to be derived from such service both for themselves and for the group. How such vision and social responsibility may be aroused will be considered later (see Chapter VI), but it must be recognized that it is essential for all true leadership, and that the objective should be the welfare of the group and not the position of the leader.

This is not to say that there are not many circumstances in which one would be wholly justified in seeking to become

leader of a group because he felt that he could do more for it than anyone else; but in this instance the desire is to be of greatest service to the group even though it might involve disadvantages to the leader, and the prospective leader would endeavor to establish such relations that he would become recognized by the group as their real leader, for he would understand that not until he had been able to educate the group to his point of view sufficiently that they would so recognize him, would it be possible for him to have the necessary influence even if he assumed the position of leader.

If we turn now to our second question as to whether it is possible to create or develop leadership by suitable training, it seems to have been largely answered by the discussion above. Evidently it is not possible to train for leadership in general except in so far as training may be given in those abilities that are essential for effective leadership. Thus, it is possible to give training that will overcome a lack of self-confidence, give an ability to express oneself before a group, and enable one to form correct judgments more quickly. Obviously, these are valid objectives for any formal system of education, and are frequently undertaken by various types of organizations as a means of developing their own leadership.

It is also possible to give very definite training for specific types of leadership, as for Sunday-school teachers, Grange lecturers, Home Bureau project leaders—in fact for any sort of officers or group leaders who have specific tasks; and this is very commonly done with more or less success according to the ability of the instructing staff. In the last fifteen years extension workers in rural social organization have held itinerant training schools for leaders in recreation and dramatics, which have produced very definite improvement of the local leadership in these fields in many instances.

As an example of what may be done in training leadership for a specific purpose, the following observation of

one of our extension professors, made some ten years ago, may be cited:

"It is encouraging to see the change in some of the people who come. One old lady, past sixty, arrived at the first school. She said she had been lecturer of her local Grange for twenty years. It was so discouraging to work with her. She seemed so stupid at first. I doubt if she had done anything in the way of recreation for a quarter of a century. Some of the others in the class noticed her handicaps. A leader of one team remarked to me privately once that they always lost because they had this old lady on their side.

"However, she worked faithfully, came early and stayed late. She told me she had to get up at four o'clock to get her work on the farm done so she could come to this school. Yesterday it was her turn to demonstrate some of the games. She did so well that everyone was anxious to compliment her. In fact, she did as well as anyone else in the county."

Furthermore, it is true that persons who learn how to make good in a specific task may thereby train themselves in those qualities and attitudes necessary for a position of larger leadership. Their success in the job that has been assigned to them commands the respect of the larger group and also arouses in themselves a keener interest in the purposes of the whole organization and a larger feeling of responsibility for it, so that they naturally rise into more important positions of leadership. In a way, then, the choice of leaders is more or less of a selective process. Those who have made good as leaders in minor rôles are chosen for more responsible positions of leadership, while those who fail are unable to command a following. Thus, by specific training for some of the concrete jobs of leadership, training is really being given that will aid in the development of a more generalized type of leadership.

Finally, let us return to our problem of the dearth of rural leadership and see whether there is such a lack; and, if so, just what is involved. In the first place, in many cases the phrase "lack of leadership" means lack of *our kind*

of leadership. The Grange may have good leadership, but the Church may complain that there is no leadership in the community. The Grange may be dead, but the poolroom may be thriving. As a matter of fact in almost every organization or community there is some sort of leadership; the question is whether it is the "right" sort and whether it can be developed or whether it must be replaced.

Secondly, lack of leadership is due to the individualistic attitudes characteristic of the American farmer and to the fact that in the past the work of the farmer and his physical isolation have not permitted him to devote much time to positions of leadership without definitely lessening his income, whereas leadership is often economically advantageous to the townsman and does not interfere much with his business. The telephone and automobile have lessened this handicap of the farmer, but it is still a real one.

Thirdly, farm people many times suffer from a very definite feeling of inferiority toward village and city people. The causes of this are varied, and we cannot now enter into an analysis of their origin. Suffice it to say that in many individuals it is possible to change such attitudes and to secure a degree of self-confidence that will make the past experience an incentive for assuming positions of leadership.

Fourthly may be mentioned the fear of criticism within the group where everyone knows more or less about everyone else's business and all are known so well to one another that any assumption of superiority is resented and criticized. As will be pointed out later, one of the greatest needs for increasing rural leadership is to get the rank and file of rural groups to understand the value of leadership to them and to be more loyal to their leaders.

Finally, lack of rural leadership is due to or is a symptom of a weak morale upon the part of the group—a failure to appreciate their common interests, and to see their common needs. It is very largely due to a lack of social

stimulus, for when some crisis in the life of the group arises, usually someone comes forward as leader. Rural leadership is not actually non-existent, if we mean that it cannot be developed, but it is true that in very many cases it must be created. Just how this can be done will be indicated later (Chapter VI), for the first essential in a program to improve rural life is the creation of effective local leadership.

THE TORCH[3]

By

ELIZABETH R. FINLEY

The God of the Great Endeavor gave me a torch to bear.
I lifted it high above me in the dark and murky air
And straightway with loud hosannas the crowd acclaimed its light
And followed me as I carried my torch thro' the starless night:
Till mad with the people's praises and drunken with vanity
I forgot 'twas the torch that drew them and fancied they followed me.

But slowly my arm grew weary upholding the shining load
And my tired feet went stumbling over the hilly road
And I fell with the torch beneath me. In a moment the flame was out!
Then lo, from the throng a stripling sprang forth with a mighty shout,
Caught up the torch as it smouldered and lifted it high again
Till fanned by the winds of heaven it fired the souls of men!
And as I lay in darkness, the feet of the trampling crowd
Passed over and far beyond me, its paeans proclaimed aloud,
While I learned, in the deepening shadows, this glorious verity;
'Tis the *torch* that the people follow, whoever the bearer be!

[3] From *The New England Magazine,* Vol. 34, p. 347.

CHAPTER V

Evolution of the Rôle of Leader in the Group

THE evolution of the relation of the leader to the group gives evidence of the increasing importance of the leader as a group mechanism when social organization becomes more complex. This may be observed by studying the place of the leader among primitive peoples as compared with those of increasing complexity of social organization and advancing civilization, and by tracing the rôle of the leader in the history of the social life of an individual from infant to adult in contemporary society.

Among primitive peoples, leadership is achieved with difficulty, tends to be more or less unstable, and is not clearly recognized as an essential of group organization. Individuals regard themselves as equals and are reluctant to delegate authority except as they recognize it in the elders of the families.[1]

As a naturalist, Darwin observed this among the aborigines of Tierra del Fuego:

"The perfect equality among the individuals composing the Fuegian tribes must for a long time retard their civilization. As we see those animals whose instincts compel them to live in a society and obey a chief are most capable of improvement, so it is with the races of mankind. Whether we look at it as a cause or a consequence, the more civilized always have been the most artificial

[1] Cf. Paul Pigors. *Leadership and Domination,* Chap. VII; Dwight Sanderson. *The Rural Community,* pp. 114-123, "Village Chiefs."

governments. . . . In Tierra del Fuego, until some chief shall arise with power sufficient to secure any acquired advantage . . . it seems scarcely possible that the political state of the country can be improved. At present, even a piece of cloth given to one is torn to shreds and distributed; and no one individual becomes richer than another."[2]

Among primitive agricultural tribes, authority often rests with a council of the elders rather than with any one chief. Thus among the 403 tribes studied by Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg,[3] hereditary and personal qualifications count about equally in determining chieftainship. Out of 154 cases in the two lower stages of agriculture the chief has some real power in 27 cases and only influence in 48 cases; in 13 cases in this group he has power in war, and in 9 the chieftains in war and peace are distinct. In 32 of these tribes the council is powerful, being slightly more than the number of instances in which the chief has definite power. On the whole, in the primitive agricultural tribe the council seems to be just as powerful as the chief or more powerful. In 22 out of 154 tribes studied by them, or 14 per cent of the total, there was little or no government.

This does not mean that there is no leadership among the simpler peoples, but that it is largely confined to personal influence in small, informal groups, or that of seniority in the family or kinship relation. Frequently among primitive peoples, power of leadership is derived from the supposed possession of some magical powers and is motivated by fear.

As social organization advances, the need of a leader to act for the group in its relations with other groups and in crises becomes apparent and a definite office is established. The group recognizes that it must have a chief,

[2] Charles Darwin. *A Naturalist's Voyage Around the World,* p. 230.

[3] Hobhouse, L. T., Wheeler, G. C., and Ginsberg, M. *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of Simpler Peoples,* pp. 49-53. The summary is from the author's *Rural Community,* p. 123.

a president, or chairman. Thus leadership becomes institutionalized. It is obvious, of course, that the elected or ostensible leader is not always the real leader, for the true leader may be "the power behind the throne." However, the mere fact that the group recognizes the need for certain officials, whatever be their number or duties, marks an advance in group organization so far as leadership is involved.

The same sequence in the evolution of leadership may be observed in groups of different ages of children. In the group relationships of the youngest children, leadership is temporary and rests on personal qualities that meet the immediate desires of a few individuals. Later, as boys reach the gang age, the life of the group is more permanent, although quite informal in organization, and rests upon the prowess and assertiveness of the recognized leader. With early adolescence, children commence to form clubs and other organizations, in imitation of adult groups, in which definite officers are chosen and various forms of delegated leadership arise. The study of the group life of young children and the relation of leadership to the formation of groups of young children has not gone far enough to warrant definite conclusions, but promises to throw considerable light upon the origin and nature of leadership.[4]

As official position becomes recognized to be an essential mechanism of group organization, and as social stratification develops, prestige becomes an important element in the origin and maintenance of leadership. Wherever leadership is hereditary it is largely due to prestige.[5] The leadership of the medicine man or magician, the priest, the doctor, and even the ward political leader is largely due to certain unknown sources of power attributed to him which

[4] Cf. Paul Pigors. *Leadership or Domination?* Chap. 8.

[5] Cf. Park and Burgess. *Introduction to the Science of Sociology,* p. 807; L. L. Bernard. *Introduction to Social Psychology,* p. 303; Lewis Leopold. *Prestige.*

are imputed but not describable. Wherever there is an aristocracy or a socially dominant class, its members acquire leadership because of their social or economic prestige. To a considerable extent the prestige of the leader is due to the ignorance of the followers concerning his actual abilities and powers. With an increase of education and the development of individualism and relative freedom from the domination of kinship and locality groups, prestige is of less importance as an attribute of leadership, although it frequently asserts its sway over quite intelligent people.

As an increasing number of voluntary associations develop with the advent of modern political and economic democracy, the official leaders of these groups are chosen more for their efficiency and with more deliberation and control by the group. Indeed, the device of annual election of officers is merely one whereby the group may retain control of its leadership and its policies.

The genesis and evolution of the rôle of the leader may also be observed in the life history of individual groups. A group of farmers become dissatisfied with the prices they are receiving for milk and with their marketing facilities. This is discussed informally for a considerable period and there is a "milling"[6] around of the unorganized crowd. Suddenly the creamery or milk shipping station posts a notice of a drastic cut in the price of milk. The crowd of farmers talks excitedly. One of the "hotheads" addresses the crowd and urges a strike. There are mass meetings led by the talkers, and a strike is called and ultimately fails. Cooler heads now see that the only hope for better prices is in forming a co-operative selling association. Meetings are held and a co-operative is finally formed, but again it is led by the talkers, and officers are elected who have been most active in the movement, who

[6] Concerning "milling," see Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 788-89.

are popular, but who do not have the requisite business ability to handle its affairs successfully. Gradually, through costly experience, and by learning more of what is involved in the whole marketing process, the co-operative association develops sound policies and chooses its officers for their demonstrated business ability. The group has educated itself and through deliberation determines its policies and elects leaders who will execute them. In this process it is probable that the officers chosen have been the real leaders in thinking through the policies necessary for the success of the undertaking and their judgment has commended itself to the group, which therefore chooses them for its execution.

In simple groups the stimulus for action comes more largely from the assertive leader. In more complex and well-established groups the stimulus comes more largely from the group. When the group has no knowledge, the leader has complete control. As the group has more knowledge it tends to hedge in the leader, but gives him increased executive responsibility.

As the group becomes more deliberative the authority of the leader is that delegated to him, although he may exercise a large influence upon the policies of the group by means of his superior knowledge and his influence in educating their thinking. The mechanism of deliberative bodies has been developed to ensure wiser judgment of the group and to prevent its being swayed by oratorical leaders, as has been described by Ross:

"In a real deliberative assembly there is a possibility that the best thought, the soundest opinion, the shrewdest plan advanced from any quarter will prevail. Where there is cool discussion and leisurely reflection, ideas struggle with one another, and the fittest are accepted by all. In the fugitive, structureless crowd, however, there can be no fruitful debate. Under a wise leader the crowd may act sagaciously. But there is no guarantee that the master of the crowd shall be wiser than his followers. The man of biggest voice or wildest language, the aggressive person who first leaps

upon a table, raises aloft a symbol, or utters a catching phrase, is likely to become the bell-wether."[7]

"A free people is obliged to settle matters of common concern in a deliberative assembly. But the big assembly skirts ever the slippery incline that leads down to mob madness, and guard-rails in the form of fixed modes of procedure are necessary to save it in misstep. Its chief protection is the Parliamentary Rules of Order, wrought out in the venerable House of Commons and certainly not the least among England's gifts to the world. The rules requiring that a meeting shall have a chairman, that the chairman shall not take part in debate, that no one shall speak without recognition, that the speaker shall address the chair and not the assembly, that remarks shall pertain to a pending motion, that personalities shall be taboo, and that members shall not be referred to by name—what are they but so many devices to keep the honey-tongued or brazen-throated crowd leader from springing to the center of the stage and weaving his baleful spells! The rules that the hearers be in order, that they remain seated, that they forbear to interrupt, that they patiently listen to all speakers regularly recognized, and that their signs of approval or disapproval be decorous—are not those so many guard-rails to help the assembly get safely by certain vertiginous moments?"[8]

In a well-established group its deliberations are embodied in minutes of its meetings and in published reports of executives and committees, which form the basis for its thinking and decisions, and which thereby tend to determine what leaders shall be chosen for the execution of the policies determined.[9]

A further advance in the rôle of leadership in the life

[7] E. A. Ross. *Social Psychology,* p. 47. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Co.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 47.

[9] "If the voluntary associations of men—chambers of commerce, or what not—are to continue for many years, there must be established a 'habit of thought.' This habit will find expression in the minutes of meetings, the published reports of forums and analyses of committee tasks as well as in a multitude of casual ways. The 'habit of thought,' thus finding itself embedded in writing, will guide each changing administration along a pathway of steady advance. It is the one means to avoid utter anarchy in group thinking." Lucius Wilson. *Community Leadership,* p. 15.

of the group is in the conscious recognition of the importance of developing new leadership and of the distribution of leadership among its membership as a means of successfully carrying on its activities. This will usually occur only in more complex groups. In a card club there is little occasion for a divided leadership, although in so simple a group as a gang there may be a division of labor with regard to leadership for specific activities. In such organizations as churches, Scout groups, Granges, lodges, etc., and in any type of community organizations, the strength of the organization will largely depend upon the effective division and integration of leadership. Whether this occurs or not often depends upon the attitude of the dominant leaders. Many a country church is dead because the established leaders will not brook competition, but demand complete control. On the other hand, the live church is one in which a maximum number of persons, particularly among the younger persons who will furnish the future leadership, are encouraged to assume the responsibilities of leadership in various activities according to their ability. Indeed, one measure of the efficiency of the social organization of any group is the distribution and integration of its leadership.[10]

Many a rural community or rural organization suffers from the same attitudes as those of the more primitive people described above. There is a jealousy of leadership and a constant criticism that make potential leaders reluctant to assume any responsibility. Everyone feels that he is as good as the leader, and that any assertion of leadership is "putting on airs" or an assumption of unwarranted authority. Such is the price of a false democracy, which assumes an equality that does not exist. It is rooted in ignorance, selfishness, and desire for personal recognition upon the part of unsocialized individuals who belong to few groups and are the hangers-on of the groups to which they do nominally belong. Willingness to recog-

[10] Cf. Dwight Sanderson. *The Farmer and His Community,* pp. 243-244.

nize leadership and a loyalty to chosen leaders is an index of the socialization of the individual and of the social organization of the group or community. How to achieve this end involves the whole art of motivating individuals through their interests to participate in group life and in it to obtain satisfying personal recognition. It is a problem of motivating them to assume responsibility for promoting activities in which they will find enjoyment and the appreciation of their fellows for their contribution to the common welfare.

CHAPTER VI

Creating Leaders

1. CREATING A FAVORABLE SITUATION

MUCH may be done to create a situation that will be more favorable for the development of leadership. Few leaders come forward who have not already been engaged in group activities. The isolated individual rarely becomes a leader. To obtain maximum membership and participation in the various organized groups is to furnish the seed-bed in which leadership may germinate. Giving everyone a job through which self-confidence may be attained by achievement in activities useful to the group is an essential for the development of leadership.

Creating a sense of obligation to do one's part in achieving the objectives of the group favors the growth of leadership. This is merely saying that a group with a strong morale, that has a lively appreciation of the purposes and objectives of the group and a definite loyalty to them, will develop a social control over its members. Each one will do the job assigned him because others expect it of him and it is the customary thing to do, whereas in a group with weak morale everyone is content to let someone else do the work.

Equally important is to break down those attitudes that weaken morale. Thus, it is important to overcome attitudes of constant criticism. This may often be done by giving the "kickers" places on committees or places of responsibility for things in which they are interested so that they will be kept busy in making good and will

come to have more sympathy for the shortcomings of others.

One important condition for the favorable development of leadership is to give young people all the responsibility they can carry. Youth may not have the wisdom of older people, but they have initiative and courage that should be exercised rather than suppressed. The organizations, churches, Granges, etc. which throw responsibility upon their young people are the live ones. Young people will not respond unless they are trusted. Herein lies the value of such organizations as the 4-H Clubs, Scouts, and similar organizations of adolescents, which give opportunity for development and training in positions of leadership.

All of these points should be recognized features of the program of work of each group as a means of making possible the development of leadership.

As the previous discussion has indicated, persons may become leaders through:

a. stimuli that arouse their personal initiative so that they attract a following;

b. stimuli that incite a group to action so that it drafts a leader to aid in carrying out its desires; or

c. enlistment for specific jobs, through the stimulus of some professional leader or organization officer.

2. SOME OF THE STIMULI THAT AROUSE PERSONAL INITIATIVE

Leadership may also be created by motivating individuals through a new perception of their own needs or those of others that serve as stimuli to arouse personal initiative.

A. The satisfaction of some personal need and the subsequent desire to share the means of satisfaction with others may be encouraged by stimulating activities that will satisfy personal needs. A good example of this method of arousing leadership is seen in the work of the

county agricultural agent, who gets a good farmer to try out some "demonstration," such as spraying potatoes, liming his soil, culling his poultry, etc. If the farmer finds that this is a practical and profitable procedure, he has "demonstrated" this to himself, and his natural inclination is to tell others about it. So he often becomes the local leader in developing this sort of a project. One woman, who had been helped by the home demonstration agent in solving a problem of malnutrition in one of her own children, came to feel the value of such a knowledge of nutrition so that she became the local leader of the nutrition project and did very effective work. It is true that in most instances such people would not assume any leadership if the organization were not present in which they might function, and if they were not incited to do so by its officers, but their leadership would never have been possible had it not been for their own change of attitude because of the satisfaction of their personal desires.

B. The perception of the common need or the need of others is often a potent stimulus. Most normal people, if shown a real need of others (particularly if it is a need which they have in common with others), will respond to the stimulus and will do what they can to meet the need, though with varying degrees of initiative and leadership. The stimulus is not a desire for service, but is in becoming aware of a real need of others.

Farm people do not become aware of their social needs so readily as city people because the life of the farm is more self-sufficient and is so isolated that they are aware of the life of only a limited number of people. In the past, farm life has tended to be individualistic. The vicissitudes of life in the city have brought about more associated activities than in the country.

As previously indicated, the average man, whether of city or country, is not keenly aware of the needs of better educational facilities, but the townsman sees the need more quickly because very frequently his economic success

is directly dependent upon his education. So it is necessary to bring individuals who may become leaders into direct contact with the various needs of the community in such a way that a personal interest and responsibility may be aroused. A rural parent who has been indifferent to better school facilities may be aroused to their importance by visiting a first-class school and seeing the better facilities and methods that it employs and the obvious difference in the attitudes of the children toward their school life.

This is one of the functions of professional leadership: to interpret to individuals the needs of the group or community in such a way that their interest in promoting means of meeting these needs may be aroused. Often this may be accomplished by bringing such persons into personal contact with others who are suffering from want of specific services. Thus, if one were seeking to establish a county tuberculosis hospital or a public health nursing service, prospective leaders might be brought into personal contact with families in which some member is suffering from tuberculosis and thus be made aware of what is needed for its control and of the difficulty of dealing with it without public health agencies. During the depression many persons have had the traditional attitude toward the dependent, but when they are brought into personal contact with a family in serious need their humanity is aroused and they become active in the support of means to meet the necessities of the situation.

C. Personal initiative is often aroused through *imitation,* the desire to imitate the achievements of one admired. This may be due to the personal inspiration of a convincing public speaker, or to the example of some person whose self-sacrifice and leadership encourage emulation. The same result may be achieved by reading biographies, or biographical articles, concerning persons whose leadership has been of such obvious public service that it invites emulation. A country minister who reads the life of John

Frederick Oberlin (see Bibliography), cannot help being influenced by his example.

Is it not true that all leadership is dependent upon some sort of recurring stimuli, and that there is a sort of hierarchy of leadership, the most humble leader being stimulated and inspired by one whom he recognizes as a leader, the latter by one whose leadership stimulates him, and so on? Every leader occasionally feels the need of this sort of stimulus, and herein is the satisfaction to be derived from the reading of biography, or from occasional contact with a dynamic leader.

D. *Suggestion* may play an important part in promoting personal initiative. The professional leader, or any leader, may occasionally go to a prospective leader for advice on a particular problem, or may drop a suggestion of a certain needed line of work. This may be repeated casually, from time to time, with no effort to get the other person to act upon the matter. Frequently, if this is skillfully done, the other person will think over the idea and gradually make it his own, until he finally comes to discuss it with others and stands sponsor for it in a way that brings recognition to him as the leader of this movement.

E. Finally, desire for recognition plays an important, and not necessarily unworthy, part in stimulating personal leadership. Most people crave recognition from their fellows. If such a desire for recognition stimulates one to assume a place of leadership, the response may be socially valuable if it is a sincere attempt to be of real service as a leader and to make a contribution to the life of the group and so to receive well-earned recognition, and is not merely an attempt to secure prestige for the satisfaction of personal vanity.

Whatever the stimulus may be, it must affect one's emotions if it is to obtain a response in action. The mere intellectual perception of a need will not stimulate action unless sufficient personal feeling is aroused to overcome inertia and the obvious work involved in leadership. In

his studies of leadership Dr. R. W. Nafe[1] found that in the origin of almost every instance of leadership some strong emotion was involved. For example, a woman started a civics club.

"After the woman had exhausted her account of the organization, its formation and operations, she was asked to recall when she first thought of forming the club. To this she declared that she had had it in mind for years, but when the question was changed to when she first thought of making some specific step toward the actual formation of the club, she recalled that the minister of the Baptist church had issued a call for the women of the village to clean the church. She had responded to this call and had found to her consternation that only one other woman had similarly responded. In describing her feelings at this situation she declared irately, 'this made me mad and I decided that the women of this community, and the men, too, could do their share of the work.' "

In another instance a leader was moved to action toward starting a community house when a gathering of young people, of which he had been a member, disbanded at the request of their host, because in playing a game in which they had been running about, some furniture was upset and chinaware broken. Exasperation with local gossip moved a woman to start a literary club, in order that the women might have something worth while to talk about. Whatever the immediate stimulus, it must arouse a strong emotional drive if effective leadership is incited.

3. CREATING GROUP SUPPORT

Leadership may, as we have seen, also be created by inciting the group to perceive its needs and by arousing a desire for action on its part that will necessitate the creation of new leaders or by giving better conscious support to the existing leaders. In any event it is much easier for

[1] Dwight Sanderson and Robert W. Nafe. "Studies in Rural Leadership," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* XXIII, p. 170.

the leader to function when the group desires his service than when its members are in a critical attitude.

A. Any device that will get the group to analyze its weaknesses and needs and consciously to develop a program for attaining certain definite goals tends to accomplish this end. Three notable examples are:

(1) In West Virginia the Agricultural Extension Service has developed a system of Country Life Institutes at which the community scores itself by means of a printed score-card, which allows 100 points credit to various items under each of ten headings such as health, education, agriculture, religion, civic spirit, etc.—a total of 1,000 in all.[2] The resulting score is of no importance from a statistical point of view, but its significance lies in the fact that the people have themselves created certain standards or ideals of their own as the basis of their scoring and then have collectively rated themselves upon these various items. In some communities the citizens find the score decidedly low and they are forced to agree that something should be done to remedy the deficiencies. They stand convicted as a community in their own eyes and, if there be a spark of life in the community, they will make some effort to better the conditions. Furthermore, it is the effort of the institute to stimulate a wholesome civic spirit by means of a religious appeal to their personal and collective responsibility for making the environmental conditions such as to encourage the building of character. As a result, many communities definitely agree to attempt certain needed improvements and in many instances new leaders come forward or are chosen who have not previously had any position of leadership, because they now feel that the community is behind them; formerly they hesitated to take any

[2] This procedure is fully described in Circular 255, Extension Division, College of Agriculture, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va., *Lifting the Country Community.* The results are described in Circular 265, *Helping the Country Community Saw Wood,* of the same institution. A more recent edition of this is Circular 307, *Education through Organized Community Activities,* by A. H. Rapking.

personal initiative when they knew it would merely invite criticism.

(2) A second example is the method by which the Community Committees of the Farm Bureaus develop their local programs of work, by first considering the main agricultural products, or sources of income of the community, and then the factors that limit profits, for each item, and thus diagnose the weaknesses of the agricultural situation. The remedies for each item are then considered, and certain farm enterprises are singled out as demanding immediate attention. Definite "goals" of accomplishment in improving the particular enterprises agreed upon are then set up and leaders chosen for each project. Thus, a definite program of work is worked out based upon the needs of the community, and the community committee and community sentiment tend to be back of the project leaders, because the goals for which they are striving represent the wishes of the membership.[3]

(3) A third method of discovering and encouraging leadership that merits careful trial is through group discussions. As clearly brought out in the paper on this topic at the end of this chapter, in group discussion the man with sound knowledge and ability is soon recognized, whereas the mere talker is also spotted. The discussion of a topic about which he is concerned and has experience encourages the non-assertive man to express himself; he is given self-confidence by the recognition his remarks receive, and he will then feel more assurance in accepting some position of leadership that may be given him because of the confidence of the group in his ability.

B. *Imitation* motivates the action of the group as well as of the individual. Any means that will get the group to compare itself with others may become a means of arousing new wants and a desire for leadership to secure them. Thus, Granges visiting one another, and the auto-tours of

[3] This is fully described in Cornell Extension Bulletin 65, *The Farm Bureau Community Committee and Program of Work,* by L. R. Simons.

Farm and Home Bureaus in which they visit the better farms and homes in other communities, stimulate imitation by the local group. An illustrated lecture showing the facilities and work of a consolidated school has been the means of arousing a community to action to obtain similar advantages for its children.

C. *Competition* with other groups often stimulates group solidarity and a need for leadership. Thus, Sunday-school classes often have contests for membership or attendance, and similar contests are used by Scouts, Granges, etc. A good baseball team and a healthy competition in baseball with another community may arouse community spirit and a certain type of leadership.

4. ENLISTMENT OF LEADERS

For certain definite jobs leaders may be directly enlisted, and their enlistment is one of the chief duties of the professional leader or of the officer of an organization. Such positions of leadership for specific jobs are only temporary, but they may be the means of creating self-confidence, or receiving the recognition of others, and of experiencing the satisfaction of accomplishment that will stimulate accepting more important positions of leadership as occasion may arise. The technique of enlistment involves much of the psychology of salesmanship and of personnel work, which may be gleaned from books on these subjects. A few points of importance for the enlistor —i.e., the one doing the enlisting—are as follows:

A. The enlistor should know his people. He should get their ideas, desires, and interests through conversation with them, by observing their behavior and activities, and by consulting others about them. Jennie Buell, in her *The Grange Master and Lecturer,* suggests that it may be desirable to keep a private record for future reference. In this way the enlistor may know who is available for particular jobs and be on the lookout for jobs which will make an appeal to certain individuals.

The enlistor should know what skills are possessed by the one he is trying to enlist and relate them to the needs of the group. The opportunity to use a recognized skill may arouse the interest and add to the self-confidence of the candidate. Thus, a carpenter who has never done anything with boys' clubs may be intrigued by the idea of teaching them his craft if they have evinced an interest in it, or the same may be true of a girl who can lead a group in folk dancing. As we have previously noted, the type of leader needed depends on the immediate situation of the group and one who has the particular skill needed may be interested by showing him the opportunity to use it.

Although it is impossible to identify leadership with any given set of "traits," there are personality characteristics that are favorable or unfavorable for particular positions of leadership. In enlisting leadership one will give due consideration to known personality characteristics that are assets for a leader.

"An enumeration of the best attributes in character and personality of all of the great leaders would include: simplicity — earnestness — self-control — assiduity — common sense — judgment — justice — enthusiasm — perseverance — tact — courage — faith — loyalty — acumen — truthfulness — honor. These might well be called the sixteen points of leadership. The extent to which they are ingredients in the character and personality of a man actually determines his value as a leader."[4]

Among the traits most valued by farmer groups are ability to manage one's own affairs, and not to meddle with those of others. The following is an interesting example reported by a member of our extension staff.

"It is interesting to size up the presidents of these clubs and to try to arrive at some conclusion as to why they have been selected.

[4] Arthur Harrison Miller. *Leadership*, p. 13. This and other quotations from this book reprinted by permission of the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Jim Strong, the president of this club, is the slowest fellow in the community, I believe. He gets to each meeting from thirty minutes to an hour late. One time his excuse was the cows and another time the children. He doesn't make speeches and he is not much of a presiding officer, but they think he is a fine president. I find that they have selected him because of the confidence they have in his ability in other things. He is supposed to be the most progressive farmer in the community; he has twelve acres of alfalfa; his dairy herd is first class; and, above all that, they say he is very tactful. However slow his meetings seem to be, he has the qualifications which rural people like."

B. The enlistor must have enthusiasm for the work of his group and loyalty to its cause and objectives in order that he may infuse the one to be enlisted with his own attitudes.

C. The enlistor must see the jobs that need doing in his group, both from the standpoint of the needs of the group, and from that of the satisfaction to be derived by the enlisted leader who may undertake a given job. He must see the importance of each job and know enough about it to arouse the interest of the prospective leader and give him a vision of its possibilities. He must create a desire to do the job because of its value to others and not as a personal favor to him. The enlistor must give the one enlisted a vision of the satisfactions possible through accomplishment of the job or of the dependence of the group upon his particular ability to do it.

D. The enlistor must know enough about the proposed work to give the prospective leader some concrete information and sources of information as to the subject matter involved and as to methods of procedure. Helpful literature may be suggested or contacts arranged with persons who have been successful in a given line of work and who can give helpful suggestions.

E. The enlistor must have faith in the one he is seeking to enlist and must convince him that he is able to do the job and will enjoy doing it. One who takes up a job half-

heartedly or with the idea of possible failure will rarely succeed. The enlistor must make the recruit feel that he and others believe him to be the best person for the job and that it cannot be as well done by anyone else, and he must be sincere in this representation. The faith of others in him is one of the greatest means of giving self-confidence to the new leader—or indeed to any leader; it is one of the chief stimuli of the leader.

F. *The interview.* The method of interviewing in attempting the enlistment of a prospective leader is important.

(1) See the prospective leader at a convenient place when he has time and when you can be alone. Sometimes it is well to broach the subject informally at a chance meeting and then arrange an interview later.

(2) Get before the prospective leader a picture of the job, what he may accomplish, and why you believe him to be the best person for the job, before giving him a chance to reply; then get his views and questions on it. His questions and objections should be answered fully, without dodging or glossing over difficulties.

(3) Do not hurry a reply, but do not give opportunity for a definite refusal; rather, arrange for another interview.

(4) It is sometimes helpful to get one or two close friends or persons respected to drop a word to the recruit, but never let him feel that he is being forced; rather that he is very much wanted. Real leadership must be voluntary, in the sense that one freely chooses or accepts it.

GROUP DISCUSSION AS A METHOD OF FINDING AND TRAINING LEADERS*

In X—— County, during the last three years, we have used group discussion as a method of conducting many of our extension meetings. Typical of these discussion meetings was a two-day

* Written by Mr. L. H. Woodward, a former student, as a paper for seminar discussion.

county-wide poultry school held about the middle of February last year. Four members of the Farm Bureau executive committee agreed to act as chairmen. Each took his turn for half a day. At an executive committee meeting a few days before the school, the general plan was discussed, the list of questions studied, and the course of action agreed upon.

A list of forty questions had been assembled from the poultrymen of the county for each day's discussion. Their questions were not classified, except in the most general manner. For example, the questions dealing with breeding and marketing were mostly included in the first day's list and the questions on care and management were in the second day's list. No attempt was made further than this to arrange the questions in any logical order: that is, feeding questions may have appeared as numbers 8, 15, 26, 33. The reason for this illogical arrangement was to avoid any tendency to discuss the questions in numerical order. If the questions were presented and discussed in regular order, it might seem as if the chairman were asking the questions. On the other hand, if the questions were suggested and called for by a member of the group, there could be no doubt about its being a desirable question for discussion in the mind of at least one member of the group.

Enough questions were listed, so that it was necessary to make some choice. The list contained about forty questions and it was possible, usually, to discuss between twenty and twenty-five questions out of the forty in any one day. The following day, a new list of questions was handed out, but no rules were made to prevent a return to questions not already discussed from the first day's list.

Often, the discussion chairman simply said, "Well, what question shall we discuss first this morning?" The answer, after a brief pause, may have been, "Number 21." The chairman read the question: "Which are better egg producers, New Hampshire Reds or White Leghorns?"

Now, obviously, the answer to such a question is a matter of opinion. There was plenty of discussion and many important factors were brought out. Egg production was found to depend not so much on breed as it does on inheritance, disease control, feeding, weather—and all these factors were emphasized in the discussion. Toward the end of the discussion of any one question, the chairman sometimes called on the subject-matter specialist from the State

College of Agriculture to summarize the answers given to the question. (Specialists are simply members of the group and are free to take part in the discussion at any time.)

Three types of questions gain admission to the list, all of them dealing with farmer problems.

1. Those questions that can well be discussed by the farmers themselves from their own experience. Here are such questions as, "How much buckwheat can be included in the poultry ration?" "Is Geneva or New York City a better place to market eggs?" "What kind of litter shall we use in our brooders?"

2. Those that can best be answered by special members of the group or by the specialist from the College of Agriculture. I mean such questions as, "Which is the best combination for breeding poultry—cockerels with hens or cocks with pullets?" "What are the principal factors that affect the size of eggs?" "Do artificial lights have any effect on hatchability?"

3. Those questions that can, with little profit, be discussed either from the experience or from the theory standpoint. Here are such questions as, "How can I produce uniformly-colored brown eggs?" "What happens when you hatch a double-yoked egg?"

In the course of a two-day meeting of this kind, with an average attendance of about fifty poultrymen, as many as thirty-five or forty men took some active part in the discussion, contributing their experience or their opinions to the solution of the problems.

Now, I should like to analyze this type of meeting as a method of finding and training leaders.

A Mr. W——, one of our local poultrymen, had, I believe gained some prestige with the group previously in his appearance at poultry meetings of the more conventional type. He was usually one of the first to ask questions of the speaker in the lecture-forum type of meeting.

In their discussion meetings, he was given an opportunity to do much more talking, to explain his theories, and to relate his experiences. In the control of coccidiosis in chicks, he urged the use of raw chopped apples in the ration. He had used apples this way and had had no coccidiosis trouble in his chicks. His theory had to do with the need, as he saw it, of acidity in the digestive system.

He presented his case fairly well, but he seemed to lose prestige in the estimation of the group. Some of the members began to

ask him embarrassing questions relative to his limited experience with this method of disease control. Others questioned him on his knowledge of the disease in question. Apparently, he made little distinction between coccidiosis and several other similar diseases. When questioned, he talked as much about worms as he did coccidiosis.

Mr. W—— had been a director of the X—— County Poultry Association. At the next election, he lost his position as director.

Mr. S—— didn't talk so much. When he did talk, he made a clear-cut contribution to the solution of the problem under discussion. His talks rang true; many listened and believed. One could not help believing. Mr. S—— was not widely known through the county, but even those who had not known him previously, knew now, after they had heard him a few times in the discussion meeting, that he was a successful poultryman. They knew this, not because he told them so directly, but because of his attitude and his manner. He had poise, he thought straight, and he talked to the point.

Mr. S—— had never had an office in any farm organization in the county so far as I know. His community was a small one, and his talents had never been developed or recognized. Last fall, Mr. S—— was elected to the board of directors of the Farm Bureau. This winter he was chosen Chairman of the Farm Bureau Executive Committee. Both this and the Poultry Association elections are real elections too, in which there is an uncontrolled, popular, democratic vote taken by the group.

Many other examples of gain or loss of prestige with the group might be cited. The important thing about the group discussion situation is that it gives many people an opportunity to demonstrate certain important leadership traits. They can, if they are to gain in prestige, demonstrate clear, constructive thinking, ability to say what they mean, poise and repartée, ability to analyze the experience of others, ability to weigh the facts and experience. On the other hand, if these potential leaders are to lose prestige, they can demonstrate that, likewise, by such means as wandering from the problem under discussion, drawing hasty conclusions, accepting the first suggestion offered, exhibiting confused thinking, showing lack of a give and take attitude, making obviously unbelievable reports.

Experience for twenty years in extension work leads me to believe that there is no other type of meeting that offers the oppor-

tunity that does group discussion for the development and selection of leaders in extension work.

Any type of meeting at the other end of the scale of platform-audience participation offers but little opportunity for demonstration and practice for more than a limited number of the group. The lecture offers no opportunity. The debate, the panel, and the symposium offer opportunity to relatively few. The forum has limited application, since the lecturer usually answers the questions and the members of the group are expected to ask questions rather than express opinions or relate experiences.

One other type of meeting commonly known as class discussion seems to be worthy of more consideration among adult extension workers. It is in this class discussion type of meeting that a specialist, a county agent, or a trained layman, would, by outlines on the blackboard and by skillful questioning, bring out from the experience of the group pertinent facts bearing on the problems under discussion. This method has been used little, I believe, in farm bureau work, but has been used successfully by the home bureau.

Although class discussion does not give the audience quite so wide participation as does group discussion, yet it has certain other apparent advantages. One of these is that class discussion can be directed and controlled, so as to prevent much aimless wandering and dissipation on trivial things that sometimes occur in group discussion.

In either of the situations, the group discussion or the class discussion, leadership is trained and selected when some member of the group thinks straight on some problem and, then, so expresses himself that he in turn causes others to think. In so far as he does this, he becomes a leader. There seems to be no way by which we can, in extension work, create a more favorable situation for the finding and training of leaders than in discussion meetings.

CHAPTER VII

Developing and Training Leaders

If, as our previous analysis has indicated, leadership is not something innate but arises out of a situation and may be learned through practice, then it should be possible to provide definite means for the development and training of leaders.

"The telephone operator in the Dayton flood exhibited rare qualities of leadership and heroism. The World War abounds with instances of men in the ranks leading whole organizations after their officers had been shot down. It is almost safe to assume that somewhere in the majority of men exists a germ of leadership which, if brought to the fore, worked upon, developed and trained, will make them leaders. In many men it remains dormant for the reason that it is suppressed by environment, circumstances, or more dominant qualities in their make-up. But if it does exist much can be done toward making of the individual a skilled leader."[1]

That this is possible has been demonstrated by such organizations as the Boy and Girl Scouts, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and others that have developed definite methods of leadership training. Herein is the advantage of such movements with county, state, and national organizations that can maintain a supervisory staff and can aid the local group in its leadership problems. However, leadership may be encouraged in any local group if the officers in charge will give consideration to definite plans

[1] Arthur Harrison Miller. *Leadership*, p. 7.

for developing and training leaders. Obviously this is the peculiar function of any professional leader, as will be discussed later.

Even though it is impossible to train for leadership in general, and even though different types of leadership require different sorts of training, it is, nevertheless, possible to give very tangible training for leadership. A distinction may be made between training *in* leadership and training *for* leadership, although the two tend to combine in actual practice. It is obvious that training *in* leadership can be obtained only when the leader relationship exists; that is, when one is actually a leader. Training *for* leadership may be obtained for a specific leader relationship in advance or while one is acting as leader.

Training alone will not, however, develop and maintain leaders. As we have seen, people assume the responsibilities of leadership because of some dynamic drive, some appeal to the emotions, which incites them to champion a given cause or goal. Motivation is, therefore, as important as training; and, if we seek to maintain leaders, we shall have to consider how they may be motivated to assume leadership and be restimulated to persevere in it. Let us consider these various aspects of the problem.

1. TRAINING BY ACTUAL EXPERIENCE

Training *in* leadership may be obtained only through experience in it, just as training in teaching must be obtained through practice teaching or just starting in to teach, for the relationship of the leader to the rest of the group is essential for perfecting the art of leadership. It is well known, however, that experience is a slow and costly teacher. Various devices have been invented for training people on the job, several of which will be discussed later (see Section 3).

One of the oldest devices for giving actual experience without entire responsibility is that of apprenticeship. This is frequently used for training leaders and might be

much more widely used with profit. Thus, a patrol leader in a Scout troop, a junior leader of a 4-H Club, an assistant county agricultural agent, an assistant pastor, or an assistant missionary is essentially an apprentice in leadership for these particular groups. Indeed, any committee chairman may be considered an apprentice in a certain type of leadership if he is working under the general supervision of someone in general authority above him.

In some instances apprenticeship experience in leadership is promoted by rotating certain offices or responsibilities. Thus in a secondary agricultural school the students conducted a co-operative store for their school supplies and various sundries. The officers were changed once a month, so that as many students as seemed qualified might receive training in how to operate a co-operative store. So in some ladies' aid societies that give monthly church suppers, they are divided into committees, one of which is responsible for one supper, in order that the chairman and others may gain experience in this form of leadership. Such a division of labor and distribution of responsibility is one of the best ways of training leadership, in spite of the fact that there will necessarily be a certain percentage of poor leaders.

Training *in* leadership may also be obtained by the full-fledged independent leader, whether voluntary or employed, through supervision, conferences, and other means which will be discussed later (Section 3).

Experience is a valuable teacher, provided the pupil desires to be taught and seeks to learn from it. One of our greatest difficulties, in any field of life, is that we do not analyze our experience enough to determine just what it may teach us. Obviously this is difficult because of our emotional biases and prejudices. One of the chief values of supervision is that the supervisor, as an outsider with more experience, may enable the one supervised to analyze and interpret his experience so as to get the full benefit from it.

Admitting that training *in* leadership can be obtained only "on the job" does not imply that training *for* leadership cannot be obtained either before or coincident with leadership experience. All formal education is but acquiring some of the accumulated experience of the race, which gives the educated person an advantage in being able to use tools and methods that he could never acquire for himself, no matter how many hard knocks of fortune he might endure or how diligently he sought to profit by them. What, then, may be had from training *for* leadership?

2. TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP

First, let us again recognize that in discussing training for leadership we are not referring to leadership in general; that is, training for a facility in leading in any sort of a group under any circumstances, but that we shall focus our attention upon methods of training for specific types of leadership. It probably is true that any training that will help the student to think clearly, to be able to analyze a problem objectively, and to have a broad resource of knowledge that will aid in its solution, will give him an advantage for leadership in almost any situation in which he may undertake to use his ability; but without other training, specifically related to the situation of the particular group concerned, he, with his superior ability, may take second place to one with more intimate knowledge of what is needed, or who is in a more sympathetic relationship with the group.

A. *Training in knowledge.* It is important, therefore, that for any particular type of leadership one have a thorough knowledge of the fundamental facts necessary to advance the interests of the particular group. We have noted (Chapter III, 4 (e)) that one of the chief functions of the leader is that he is the educator and interpreter for the group. This requires superior knowledge. One cannot lead a baseball team who does not know the game. To be a leader of a Farm Bureau project in dairy herd

improvement, one must have a superior knowledge of breeding and feeding. And so on for any field of leadership. Thorough knowledge of the subject matter, whatever it may be, whether hogs, or literature, or human nature, is essential for the best type of leadership.

It is true, however, that we occasionally see leaders who seem to have only a superficial knowledge of the subject matter with which their group is concerned, but who are able to maintain their position of leadership by utilizing the knowledge and ability of those who are well informed about it. In this case the position of the leader is probably due to his superior knowledge of the personalities in his group and of his grasp of leader-group relationships. Thus, a practical grasp of the psychology and sociology of leader-group relationships is an essential part of the training of a leader, whether it be through the formal analysis of these sciences or through the common-sense, but none-the-less efficient, knowledge gained by the practical politician or society leader. It is believed that, as the type of material here presented is improved by others and put in the best possible form, it may be of very practical use in giving leaders of all sorts a better understanding of what is involved in the leader-group relationship and how it may be improved.

Certain positions of leadership are dependent upon knowledge of subject matter or methods of work. This may be gained through helpful literature prepared for this purpose and to which the leader may refer. This may be in the form of specially prepared leaflets such as those furnished 4-H Club leaders by the state colleges of agriculture, a book such as the *Girl Scout Handbook,* or it may be a feature of a weekly or monthly paper or magazine issued by the organization concerned, as, for example, the Lecturer's Column in the *National Grange Monthly.* Conferences of leaders, study classes, or training schools are also means to the same end.

Knowledge of related fields is also an asset to a leader

if he has imagination and inventiveness to see how it may be applied to his own problems. Thus, the 4-H Club leader who knows something of Scouting or of the work of the Junior Grange may be able to adapt some of their methods to his own group, or one who knows carpentry or even general literature may find these fields of knowledge of use in working out a program of work for his group as different occasions and circumstances arise.

B. *Training in skills.* Skills play much the same rôle as knowledge in the leadership relation. Skills must be learned by practice, but the learning process can be materially facilitated by competent instruction and can be carried on unassociated with the leadership position. If a Scout troop leader is to lead a hike, he must not only know the trail but he must have skill in being able to build a fire, to construct a shelter, and to give first aid to the injured. If one is to lead an amateur theatrical troop, he must have some skill in staging, lighting, use of make-up, and reading the lines. In many types of groups the leader is chosen primarily for his skill in its activities, as the captain of a ball team, the crack-shot in a shooting club, or a skilled craftsman in a trade union. Wherever skill is involved in the activities of the group, he who would lead must have a reasonable ability in the specific skills involved, but his leadership usually will not depend on skill alone, and the one most skilful may not be chosen as leader. Judgment, dependability, and other basic qualities of leadership are also essential.

One skill that is helpful in any group is the ability to use parliamentary procedure. This is both a knowledge and a skill. It involves knowing the rules, but equally important is how to make use of them and keep control of the situation without giving offense. Parliamentary procedure is but one method of maintaining orderly group control, for which the leader will also need other skills. If the leader loses control of the group, his leadership, for the time being, is lost. This aspect of control depends

largely upon keeping the attention of the group on the leader and on their mutual purposes, goals, or objectives. Skill in maintaining group control is based both on knowledge and experience in the art of control, but it also requires ability to think and to think quickly; the leader is a leader if he is able to make essential decisions promptly.

C. *Training to think.* We have seen that one of the essential qualifications of the leader is his ability to think more clearly than his followers, to be able to analyze a situation, to see ahead, and to plan for the future. Not only does his success as a leader depend upon his ability to think, but the degree to which he can get the members of the group to think clearly will determine how good followers they become and to what extent they are capable of assuming positions of minor leadership and gradually becoming leaders. The man who can swing his group by oratory has a certain hold upon them, but if his followers do not understand the situation and the facts involved, they may be as readily led away by a more gifted speaker. A group of dairy farmers may be led into a milk strike by a clever speaker, but the leader who has trained them to understand as much as possible of the whole complicated milk-marketing situation and who has stimulated them to think for themselves will have a group who can decide on a policy and will stay with it in spite of the clever ruses of the opposition. In the C.C.C. Manual for Instructors, M. Reed Bass has very tersely summarized the types of response that are obtained "When a Learner Thinks," which are equally suggestive for the leader, whether for his own training or in that of others. In abbreviated form his points are as follows:

"When a learner thinks—He thinks when he is so managed by the instructor that he goes through one or more of the following experiences:

1. He carries out instructions accurately.
2. He interprets what others say or write.
3. He explains the reasons for things (the why).

4. He explains the way to do a thing (the how).
5. He searches for the facts or ideas about which he needs to do something.
6. He organizes information.
7. He systematizes his work.
8. He analyzes things.
9. He draws conclusions.
10. He makes decisions.
11. He makes a plan for doing something.
12. He executes a plan for doing something.
13. He checks the results of his own work or that of others.
14. He tries to locate the cause of anything.
15. He teaches others to do something."[2]

A good illustration of how getting members of the group to think will change their relationship to the leader, and how it will make better followers because they do not have to depend so much upon the leader, was given by Mr. John R. Jones, a very successful leader of large choruses in New York City, at his training conference for rural music leaders, which he has held every morning during Farm and Home Week at Cornell University during the past four years. He first went over a song that was to be sung and drew out of his group their ideas of its meaning and supplemented them so as to get a clear analysis of the meaning and feeling of both the words and the music. He urged them to get their groups to feel the meaning of the music and so be able to give expression to it more or less spontaneously rather than through the mechanics of the leader's baton. He believes that the leader should lead through interpretation so that it will be caught by the members of the group, and that the leader should then stay in the background as much as possible, rather than to dominate the situation by various antics to

[2] United States Office of Education, Vocational Division. *A Manual for Instructors in Civilian Conservation Corps Camps,* Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1935, p. 52.

obtain their mechanical response. He further illustrated this by showing them how to dramatize such a song as the Christmas carol "Good King Wenceslas." In this way the leader gives the psychological content of the song to the group and his leadership is chiefly that of interpretation.

Training to think may also be stimulated by program-planning conferences and by a supervisor assisting a leader to make an analysis of a situation or series of events that will help him to gain a better insight into the factors involved and thus lead to new methods of dealing with them.

Training in knowledge, in skills, and in ability to think, may all be acquired more or less apart from the leadership situation or in connection with it, but they do not necessarily involve the actual act of leading.

D. *Vicarious experience.* Another method of acquiring training for leadership is through vicarious experience: that is, experiencing the leader relationship through the behavior of others. Thus, the critical observation of the methods of other leaders in action, as the student in education observes the work of a skilled teacher in a demonstration lesson, is one way of learning leadership. The same process occurs in the relation of the apprentice leader to the leadership of his chief. Practice on hypothetical situations through the use of case studies and the discussion of how different situations might be handled forms another means of vicarious experience. The reading of the biographies of successful leaders, such as that of Mabel E. Cratty,[3] will give insight into their methods and will also give inspiration, or motivation for leadership.

3. METHODS, MEANS, AND DEVICES FOR LEADERSHIP TRAINING

In the last section we have briefly surveyed the content of the training helpful for leadership that may be obtained

[3] Cf. Margaret E. Burton. *Mabel E. Cratty: Leader in the Art of Leadership,* New York, The Womans Press, 1929.

independently of the actual experience of leading; but this same training may also be given to the leader "on the job" who desires to improve his efficiency, by what is commonly called "in-training." Let us now consider some of the means whereby such training may be given.

A. *Training conferences, schools, or short courses.* Various types of conferences, schools, or short courses for training local leaders have been found helpful by all sorts of organizations, the length varying from a single session to a week or a fortnight. Training courses held once a month have been widely used for training Sunday-school teachers. Reference has already been made to itinerant training schools for leaders in dramatics and recreation conducted by state college extension staffs. Similar training schools for local project leaders are conducted by specialists in other lines of extension work, particularly in the various home economics projects. As to the results of such schools, a report of one of our staff, made some ten years ago, is of interest.

"This is the first school in which nearly everyone present was in the same school last year. It was interesting to see what use had been made of what I tried to give them last year. One rather frail and diffident girl, who lives on a farm, began leading recreational meetings, until in August the County Fair Board asked her to take charge of the recreation at the fair. She asked one of the other members, a married woman, to help her. This woman induced her husband to make some play equipment, see-saws, sandpiles, swings, etc. For four days those two young women directed games at the fair from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. This same young woman wrote a play for her Home Bureau which was given with considerable success."

An example of a two-day training school or institute for rural community leaders is seen in the following program from Iowa, where many such meetings have been held:

MONONA COUNTY PROGRAM FOR RURAL LEADERS TRAINING SCHOOL

Farm Bureau Hall, Onawa, Iowa, December 8-9

Friday, December 8

9:00 A. M. Registration and Getting Acquainted

10:00 A. M. Training School Called to Order
N. L. Hackett, Onawa, Farm Bureau President
Invocation—Rev. Bennett, Turin, Iowa
Announcements—W. H. Stacy, Extension Service, Ames
Musical Selection

10:30 A. M. Discussion. "The Community, What It Is, How It Can Act, and What It Can Do"
Led by Prof. G. H. Von Tungeln
What Is a Rural Community?
A. W. Ruth, Lincoln Township (Whiting, Iowa)
How Large Is My Community?
Mrs. A. B. Robinson, Lake Township (Whiting, Iowa)
How Does My Community Relate Itself to the County, State, and Nation?
J. E. McNamara, Postmaster and Editor of the *Castana Times*
Is Community Spirit and Community Thinking Desirable?
Mrs. W. W. Gingles, Center Township (Castana, Iowa)
Why Think in Terms of a Community at All?
F. W. Hawthorne, Center Township (Castana, Iowa)

12:00 M. Dinner

1:00 P. M. Call to Order. Singing

1:15 P. M. "Shall We Plan Our Work?"
A. H. Thompson, Ames, Iowa

1:30 P. M. Discussion, "Settling Goals"
Led by Miss Neale S. Knowles, Extension Service

Saturday, December 9

9:30 A. M. Call to Order. Singing. Announcements

9:45 A. M. Discussion, "Planning of Successful Meetings"
Led by W. H. Stacy, Extension Service
How We Create Interest in Our Meetings
R. L. Oliver, Pisgah, Iowa
Can We Conduct Project Work Through Meetings?
Miss Neale S. Knowles, Extension Service

11:15 A. M. Parliamentary Drill

12:00 M. Dinner

1.00 P. M. Call to Order. Singing

1:15 P. M. Discussion, "Why Be a Leader?"
Led by Prof. G. H. Von Tungeln
"The Kind of Leadership Agriculture Needs"
W. B. Whiting, West Fork Township (Whiting)
"Is Leadership a Privilege or a Duty?"
Mrs. G. B. Clappison, County Nurse
"Some Essentials of Leadership"
Rev. G. W. Dunn

3:00 P. M. Summary of Training School
N. L. Hackett, Onawa, Iowa

For several years a one-week short course for training Grange lecturers was held at the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University with very satisfactory results and increasing attendance. Some of the courses given were: Dramatics for Granges, The Grange and Its Lecturer, Public Problems, Community Problems, Public Speaking, Recreation for Granges, Parliamentary Procedure, etc. Similar short courses have been given at other institutions.

For certain purposes summer camps furnish a particularly good environment for leadership training. Probably this is chiefly due to the informal and personal relationships established in camp, and because it gives an opportunity for a division of labor and for the stimulation

of leadership in the activities of the camp. Camps have been used particularly by youth groups, such as the Scouts, 4-H Clubs, Y. M. and Y. W. C. A., church young people's organizations, etc., but they have been found equally satisfactory for adults. A notable example of the use of a camp for this purpose is the State Camp at Jackson's Mills, West Virginia, originally established as a State 4-H Camp, but now used by the farm women's clubs and various religious organizations of the state. Miss Patten[4] has described it as "A Leadership Training Center."

For adults, leader-training conferences are often held at quiet rural hotels or village conference centers, such as have been developed at Fletcher Farms, Proctorsville, Vt., or at Lisle, New York, by Happy Valley, Inc., where some of the same values of intimate personal association through living together may be obtained.

B. *Supervision.* As we have previously noted, competent and sympathetic supervision is one of the best means of training leaders. The supervisor may be an employed state or regional officer, or he may be the local Sunday-school superintendent or Scout commissioner, but whatever his capacity he should be a leader of leaders rather than a mere critic and "trouble-shooter." The work of the supervisor is to give adequate instruction to the leader as he undertakes his position and to continue this at intervals, as often as opportunity may make possible. A specific list of his duties and responsibilities will prove helpful to the new leader; such as the suggested duties of a community chairman, or of a community project leader, as given by Director Simons.[5] The supervisor can bring to the attention of his leaders the successes and failures of others and comment on the methods they have used and their results. He can help a leader analyze his situa-

[4] Marjorie Patten. *The Arts Workshop of Rural America,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1937: XII, "A Leadership Training Center at Jackson's Mills, West Virginia," pp. 117-126.

[5] L. R. Simons. *The Farm Bureau Committee and Program of Work,* Cornell Extension Bulletin 65, April, 1923, p. 18.

tion and its problems. The supervisor's criticisms should be in the form of suggestions and questions as to why certain methods are used and whether a suggested method might not well be tried, or they may merely be implied by telling how another has met a similar situation. The success of supervision depends almost wholly upon the rapport which is established. Some supervisors are detested as mere inspectors or snoopers, while others are loved and respected. The supervisor will be a success to the extent that he is a true leader and builds up a following among the leaders he is supervising.

The supervisor should talk over with his leaders their troubles and difficulties, and should magnify the jobs they are doing. He may encourage them to overlook the slights and shortcomings of members of their groups and to see the best in them, forgetting their personal pride in doing the job and gaining the support of others. Tactful methods of handling personal relations may often be discovered by the local leader through counseling with him.

The professional leader or organization officer may also assist the lay leader to analyze his program so as to see the next step and the next job and so keep him planning ahead, or, colloquially, "keep him coming." The leader may also be helped by the supervisor putting him in touch with specialists, organizations, or agencies that can assist on special or technical problems that may arise.

C. *Speakers and specialists.* Local groups of leaders are often aided by bringing in a speaker for a single address or a specialist for a one-session conference. Such speakers bring special knowledge, special skills, and inspiration to the local leaders. They should be used to accomplish specific ends, and the local group should be prepared to make use of them by means of questions and discussion. Otherwise, outside speakers may merely furnish entertainment and local leaders may come to depend upon them too heavily.

D. *Printed information.* Leaders in all sorts of groups are in need of the best printed (or mimeographed) information of all sorts of factual material. The 4-H Club movement has been particularly fortunate in the wealth of helpful material that has been available to local leaders prepared by the extension specialists at the state colleges of agriculture for their special use. Much the same function is performed by the national offices of such organizations as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the American Red Cross, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and similar organizations.

A most useful form of printed information is the well-annotated bibliography which gives the best literature upon given topics. A good example is *A Guide to the Literature of Rural Life.*[6] The librarian of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., has compiled and issued in mimeographed form a series of bibliographies on many aspects of agricultural economics and rural life, such as *Farm Youth in the United States, Advantages and Disadvantages of Country Life, Farm Tenancy in the United States, Rural Standards of Living,* etc., which may be had upon application.

E. *Sources of help.* Another means of aiding leaders is to furnish them with lists of private and governmental agencies which may have helpful literature for them or to whom they may write for advice on special topics.[7] A descriptive list of organizations dealing with youth problems is to be found in the 1938 yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators.[8] State extension

[6] Benson Y. Landis, compiler. *A Guide to the Literature of Rural Life,* The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, 1939. Pp. 15. Price, 10 cents.

[7] Such a list of agencies may be found in the appendix of *Rural Community Organization,* by Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, John Wiley and Sons, 1939.

[8] American Association of School Administrators. *Youth Today.* 16th Yearbook. Washington, D. C., National Education Assn., 1938, pp. 310-324.

services would greatly assist local leaders by preparing a comprehensive, annotated list of those state and national agencies that would be most helpful to them, such as that given in the Missouri bulletin cited below.[9]

F. *Miscellaneous devices.* There are many devices that will greatly aid leaders in making a success of their work, but which will vary with the nature of the group. Scheduling of time and events is of importance for the conservation of effort. The formulation of definite goals of achievement and of score cards or schedules of achievement has been found helpful in Farm and Home Bureaus, Sunday schools, and other organizations that set up definite projects for accomplishment.[10]

4. MEANS OF MOTIVATION

The responsibilities of leadership are sometimes discouraging. For the development of leaders it is as important to renew their motivation, to give them stimulation for renewed efforts, as it is to increase their knowledge or skill.

A. *Conferences and conventions.* Conferences and conventions of leaders are occasions for discussing their common problems, and gaining new knowledge and skill, but are of equal value in giving them new inspiration and building up and maintaining their morale, and through them the morale of their local groups. A leader must of necessity always be somewhat ahead of his group and have objectives of what it should accomplish which many do not share. Inevitably he has times of discouragement and a feeling of not being supported by his group. At conventions and conferences he comes into contact with other leaders who share his vision and ideals.

Among such an assemblage of leaders a definite morale is developed which strengthens their own self-confidence

[9] B. L. Hummel. *Community Organization in Missouri,* Extension Circular 183, Sept., 1926.

[10] See B. L. Hummel, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 24.

by making them feel they are part of a larger group that shares their ideals and that is superior to the local group. This feeling is in turn spread by them to their own local groups, which thereby recognize the standards of the larger group. Undoubtedly it is this need for the maintenance of the morale of leaders and their need for the social control of a larger group in upholding desirable aims and policies in their local groups that gives rise to the tendency for all sorts of groups to federate and hold conventions.[11]

B. *Faith of others.* One of the chief motivations of any leader is the faith of others in him. This may be the faith of the members of his group, or of a superior officer or professional leader under whom he is working. In any case the sincere expression of faith in his leadership is a chief motivation for his efforts to merit it, as we have seen in describing the "circular response" of the leader-follower relationship (Chapter III, 5). The confidence of his children in him has steadied many a parent in times of depression or crisis, and the faith of his followers is one of the chief drives of a true political leader.

C. *Reading.* The reading of biography of great leaders has already been noted as a source of inspiration, but this may also be obtained from poetry, fiction, or other literature which portrays human aspiration, how men have met their responsibilities, and the results of true devotion to the commonweal.

A biography such as *The Life of Madame Curie,* a poem such as Walt Whitman's *Pioneers! O Pioneers!* or novels such as James Hilton's *Good-Bye, Mr. Chips,* Kenneth Roberts' *Northwest Passage,* or Sholem Asch's *The Nazarene* cannot fail to give new courage and strength to the leader.

D. *Recognition.* Recognition and appreciation are among the chief rewards of leadership and should be generously bestowed. This may be done both by the officers of the local organization and by the professional leader,

[11] Cf. Dwight Sanderson. *The Rural Community,* p. 355.

either personally or in public. A successful county agricultural agent makes it a practice to always mention the name of the local leader in any newspaper report of work in his community. Too much public acclaim may incite jealousy of the leader's followers, but the personal expression of appreciation obviates this and should be given by all interested. Recognition and appreciation are but a form of expression of faith in the leader, and are the natural response of good followers. If we appreciate the services of our leaders, the least we can do is to give them ungrudging recognition.

CONCLUSION

That leaders can be developed and trained has been one of the outstanding facts demonstrated by the Country Life Movement of the past generation. There are many rough diamonds in what seems to be common clay. Formerly rural leadership was mostly in the hands of village business and professional men, because they had more frequent contacts with all members of the community. Today, farm men and women are taking their rightful place as rural leaders. This is in part due to better means of communication, but it is equally due to better means of education and to the training they have received by various rural organizations.

CHAPTER VIII

The Professional Leader

IT HAS been said that the professional leader is essentially a paid expert, and that, with rare exceptions, he is not a member of the local primary group. The implication is that he cannot, therefore, be a true leader of the local group because the group leader, if our analysis is correct, must be a bona fide member of the group. This seems to be a hard doctrine for the professional leader, and I can hear someone say, "Do you mean that the clergyman is not a member of his own church; or do you mean that a school principal is not the leader of his own school?" Now there is no question that the pastor is, or should be, the spiritual leader of his flock. Yet even in that relationship, no matter how much he is loved and revered by his people, is it not true that, if there be any difference between them, or if there is a question to be decided with regard to what the local church shall do in a particular matter, the people feel that he is the minister and they are the church? In the nature of things, his position in the church is more or less temporary, and his leadership is more or less due to his official position. Will not the real power of his professional leadership be measured by the degree to which he can get his people to see what activities are essential for the welfare of the church and that these activities are undertaken voluntarily under their own leadership? In other words, is not the success of the professional leader measured by the degree to which

he can inspire, stimulate, discover, develop, and train these primary group leaders?

The function of the professional leader is to act as stimulator and educator of the group that employs him, but it is not his function to attempt to act as a group leader, and in so far as he does so, he prevents the best social organization of the group with which he is entrusted. How frequently do we see men in positions of professional leadership who seem to be able to get everyone to rally to them; everyone is working and the group seems to prosper, but let the professional leader drop out, as he inevitably does, and the whole thing collapses and the group is little, if any, stronger than before. The reason, of course, is that he has, through the prestige of his position, through superior ability, and through his failure to recognize the importance of the primary group leaders, assumed all the functions of leadership himself, and the local leaders have been weakened rather than strengthened in their position as group leaders.

Leadership is a device which mankind has found effective in making adaptations to the changing environment.[1] It is the business of the leader to think ahead and to set the standards of the group and by so doing, he acts as an organ of adjustment for the group. Professor J. E. Butterworth has made a remark concerning educational leadership which is apropos in this connection:

"Education unfortunately does not generally create situations of such obvious maladjustment as to *compel* reflection similar to an epidemic or a bank failure or low prices. The effects of an inadequate education are seldom immediately observed and when observed, may be explained plausibly by limitations in the native ability of those trained. Someone is needed to analyze the situation, make it clear to the group, and get their activity toward the improvement."

To perform his function as stimulator, it is not essential

[1] Cf. Chapter III, p. 26.

for the professional leader to be the real group leader, for the interpretation of the situation and the stimulus to make a better adaptation to it may come from an outside leader as well as from one within the group, as has been shown by Lindeman[2] and indicated by Butterworth:

"Leadership may come because the group as a whole turns to the one who appears to possess greatest ability for meeting the situation, or has the most time to devote to the matter, or is most aggressive in urging action. It is not imperative, however, that the leader come from within the original group; in the initial stages, he may be from the outside, though before he becomes a genuine leader, he must be accepted by the group. The county superintendent may urge the importance of a new building in a district of which he is not a resident, but if his leadership in this matter is to be effective, he must convince the people of that district that he is working for their welfare. Furthermore, as this illustration shows, it is not imperative that the realization of the problematic situation be first recognized by the group as a whole or by any member of it; someone outside may do that and call the attention of the group to the situation."[3]

But the education of the group so that its attitudes will be changed requires a genuine group leader of the type described by Butterworth:

"The type [of leadership] we are here considering is that involved in bringing a rural group that appears to be satisfied with inferior schools to provide those conditions and facilities that will mean better education. This type of leadership has three important characteristics.

"1. It involves the development of a dominantly conscious and active form of group behavior rather than one that is dominantly customary and traditional. Our great need in rural education is to draw communities *out of* an habitual, complacent attitude

[2] Eduard C. Lindeman. *The Community,* pp. 124-125.

[3] Julian E. Butterworth. *Principles of Rural School Administration,* p. 194. Chapters X and XI of this book deserve study by any student of leadership. This and other quotations from this book reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Co.

toward their schools. The representative of the group who merely defends what the group now thinks or does is not, therefore, the sort of leader we have in mind.

"2. This type of leadership requires not so much the contribution of an idea or procedure (in a scientific sense) as the creation of a desire for that which the profession generally accepts as educationally sound. . . .

"3. The type of leadership here considered is not the formal influence of the purely official leader, such as a county superintendent, but the influence of one who can make a group educationally alert. This leader may or may not be a professional officer."[4]

The same general situation applies to the work of the Church. In these and similar cases, there is need of an expert leader who can perceive the needs of the group and who can create a real dissatisfaction within the group so that it will desire better things. Professional leadership is essential in certain fields where there is needed an ability for abstract thought, which must necessarily come from getting an outside view, so to speak, of the group, which can only come from a broader knowledge, wider contacts, reading, travel, etc. Rarely is this function performed by the local group leader, and ideally it would be the function of the professional leader to be the teacher of the group leaders. Furthermore, it would be the function of the professional leader to work with the group leaders in devising and carrying out educational methods whereby the members of the group might be brought to see their needs and be ready to support a practical program for their realization. The tragedy of the situation is that very often the professional leader is so blinded by institutionalism and custom that he is unable to perform this function.

One of the seeming paradoxes of the position of the professional leader is that, on the one hand, he should bring to his constituents a new and fresh point of view,

[4] Julian E. Butterworth. *Principles of Rural School Administration,* pp. 192-3.

he should be looking ahead and advocating progressive measures; but if these ideas run contrary to the established mores or conflict with the interests of influential individuals, he may soon lose his standing. On the other hand, if he accepts the existing situation, there will be no progress, and he fails as a real leader. The practical solution of the dilemma seems to be in a golden mean in which the professional leader recognizes the dangers of either alternative, but avoids them by a more gradual course in which, while steadfastly clinging to his goals, he seeks to convert the leaders or to change the attitudes of the group gradually, so that they will advance the new ideas as theirs rather than attributing them to him.

Human progress would not be conserved or advanced if every generation or two did not have its prophets; but prophets are usually rejected by their contemporaries and receive their acclaim from later generations. The leader who is really to lead, in the sense that he obtains followers who share his objectives, must not be regarded by them as too radical or too different from themselves, yet he must have a certain prestige and must command their respect and confidence. Some so-called leaders assume they must at all events assert their convictions, even though they be martyrs to the cause about which they are unable to change the opinions of those whom they would lead. Their personal sacrifices are commendable, but are they effective? Others deal with the situation more realistically and recognize that any permanent advance can be achieved only through a genuine change of attitude upon the part of their constituents through a gradual process of education.

Most professional leaders encounter this problem in one form or another. The high-school principal has the problem of whether to stimulate his students to think realistically about current economic and social problems, or to pursue a more conventional course. The pastor has the same choice, but is also involved in whether he will

be progressive or conservative in his theological leadership. The county agricultural agent may lead his constituents into a free discussion of national agricultural policies and international and economic relations affecting them, or he may pursue his customary rôle of showing the farmer how to produce more crops at lower costs. In these cases, if the employed leader undertakes to be the real leader of the group, in the advocacy of progressive ideas and methods, he is very likely to lose the support of the more conservative members of his group, and it may result in his position becoming an impossible one so far as effective leadership is concerned. On the other hand, if he quietly educates local leaders so that they advance his ideas as their own and assume active leadership on their behalf, the employed leader may maintain his rôle as educator and stimulator of group thought without centering antagonism on his personal leadership. This is not to imply that the employed leader should take a neutral course simply to maintain his own security, or that there are not circumstances in which he must take a stand and be prepared to take the consequences, but that in most instances the cause that he advocates will be more effectively and permanently advanced if it is espoused by local leaders who are the choice of their groups or who create their own following. If the professional leader is obliged to assume genuine leadership in a conflict that, however it may be resolved, arouses strong antagonisms within his group, it is often better for him to resign and make it possible for the group more readily to heal the breach by employing a new leader who has not been involved.

To take concrete examples, let us suppose that the minister feels that graded Sunday-school lessons should be introduced in his Sunday school, or the school principal thinks that the school should have a better library. In either instance, is it his function as a professional leader directly to present this matter to the members of his constituency, or will he probably get better results and at the

same time be building up a stronger group tradition if he quietly interests some of the leaders and in due time gets some of them to advocate these projects until there seems to be a general agreement for them and the people endorse the proposals of the leaders? In such a situation, the professional leader gives the stimulus to the improvement and he aids in educating the leaders and the group, but the actual creation of sentiment for the changes is due to the work of the group leaders, and their leadership is strengthened by getting them to think ahead and stand for something the need for which is generally appreciated. Obviously, this requires that the existing leaders be converted to the new idea or that new leaders be created, with the attending risks of creating factions.

The temptation of the professional leader is to get results. He is usually responsible more or less to some overhead agency besides the local group which employs him, and his professional advancement is dependent upon the results that he can show. He wants to see things move, and it is often much easier and surer to manage things himself and "put things over" even though the majority for them may be small. Real progress, however, is not made in such fashion; mere majority rule is frequently responsible for retarding progress more than advancing it. It takes some time to develop and train group leaders and with them to educate the public opinion of the group, but only in that way can a strong, progressive group life be developed.

Lindeman has brought out the danger to community, or group, growth if the professional leader does not develop local leaders:

"The community leader's greatest temptation is to 'do' things for the community, rather than create means whereby the community may do things for itself. There are two objections to this type of leadership: in the first place, it devitalizes the leader, and, in the second place, it undermines the community. *Each time the leader does something for the community that the community*

might have done for itself, he prevents the community from developing its own resources. This process in time becomes so devitalizing that whole communities appear to be without leadership. The principle is applicable even in cases where the leader's ability is superior to that of the community. . . . In a Democracy, the group must be permitted the right to make its own mistakes. Eventually, this process leads to the proper utilization of specialized leadership."[5]

Butterworth has emphasized the same point with regard to the use of local leaders for school purposes:

"Influential persons in each community should, whenever possible, be utilized. The significance of these local leaders is often overlooked by the superintendent. Since it is impossible for a professional officer in education to do all the technical work that is required and also to come into intimate contact with all the members of his district, the local leader may be the most practicable means of bringing the ideals of the school to each and every citizen. Furthermore, the average superintendent is not so competent to deal with Jones or Smith as is a neighbor. Not only does each group have its particular points of view, but each person has characteristics that should be taken into account. If local leaders are carefully chosen and wisely guided, the superintendent will find that dividing responsibilities will increase the confidence of the citizens in him. To them it will suggest that he is not primarily concerned in exerting influence over others."[6]

Indeed, the professional leader may well accept the leaders which the group has chosen, unless he can very skilfully and indirectly influence their choice of better ones. For a group works better with a leader of its own choice than with one selected for it.

Possibly the reason that many professional leaders are satisfied with what seem to be "immediate results," even though subsequent history shows them to be evanescent, is because they feel that, if they enlist many individuals

[5] E. C. Lindeman. *Op. cit.*, p. 190.
[6] J. E. Butterworth. *Op. cit.*, pp. 209-210.

in desirable activities and make a showing of notable events, something has really been accomplished; whereas, unless the attitudes of the groups have been so changed that these activities represent a real conviction of their desirability upon the part of the group, there may be no permanent effect. In other words, we must recognize that social progress comes through changing group attitudes and that groups rather than individuals conserve and transmit new social procedures and mechanisms. The key to the group is the group leader. Hence, if the group life is to be permanently strengthened, the fundamental problem is to develop and strengthen its leadership. Unless real group leadership is developed, the work of the professional leader, however brilliant it may appear to be, will have but little permanent value to the group. Instead of being able to grapple with and work out their own problems the better for having had the benefits of professional leadership, they will be more dependent upon it, and will be constantly recurring to the fact that, if Mr. —— were here, we could do so-and-so. There is no reality to the group life which has to be carried on the shoulders of a professional employee.

Even if we agree to the foregoing point of view, we must recognize that very frequently the local group has become so accustomed to allowing the professional leader to lead that, when a new minister or school principal comes into the community, he finds the people waiting with numerous positions of leadership that he is expected to assume because of his position. What, then, is he to do? Of course, he cannot disclaim responsibility, nor can he await the discovery or development of local leadership. Obviously, he must to some extent assume the rôle thrust upon him. The degree to which he really fulfils his function as a professional leader will depend upon whether he continues to regard himself as the only possible leader for these activities or whether he devotes most of his energy to finding, enlisting, and training others to act as leaders of

various groups and who so relieve him of this responsibility. If the latter course is pursued, the organization or community will develop a continuity of policy and tradition, and there will be a consistent group life rather than a series of revolutions with every change of professional leaders.

This attitude upon the part of the professional leader necessitates a considerable length of time for the successful development and training of group leaders, for it takes time for even the most gifted professional leader to get the confidence of his constituency and to change long-established attitudes of both individuals and groups in such a manner that genuine leadership will be created and established. Hence, any system that puts a premium on a short term for professional leaders or which does not encourage them to remain in one place for a considerable length of time is inimical to their greatest usefulness.

We have seen in the previous chapter how important the rôle of the professional leader is in the supervision and training of group leaders. To the extent that he recognizes his rôle and plays his part as a leader of leaders, will he be successful in building up strong group life and will he leave it a permanent legacy, for which his memory will be blessed. The origin of the progressive development of many a successful community may be traced back to the influence of an outstanding pastor or school principal, or to the stimulation of a county extension agent.

CHAPTER IX

The Meaning and Values of Leadership to the Leader

We have considered the sociology of leadership and have seen that the leader is an essential group mechanism, and we have learned about the psychology involved in leadership behavior both as regards the inter-stimulation of the leader and the led and the motivation of the leader; but, as we review these findings, we have the feeling that, though they give us new insight into the problems of creating and training leaders, they do not quite reveal the meaning of his job to the leader. The world has always been crying for leadership, and probably always will be. Why are there so few leaders, and why are not more people willing to assume the responsibilities and enjoy the distinction of leadership? We seem to need a sort of philosophy of leadership, which will reveal its ethical implications, establish its personal values, and show its meaning to the leader as a personal relationship. Although this theme merits a volume in itself and is a challenge to the ablest philosopher, we shall attempt to sketch some of the personal values coming to the true leader and what they may mean to him.

1. The Values of Leadership to the Personality of the Leader

There are certain values which accrue to the personality of the leader which arise in and from his functioning in

the rôle of leader, from his behavior in the leadership relation.

A. *Service: usefulness.* We have seen that a fundamental obligation of the leader is to be of service to his group. One who is seeking his own ends will sooner or later be discovered and will be dethroned from his position. The true leader must be constantly studying how he may further the interests of his group. This compels him to put their interests before his own and stimulates automatically a larger degree of unselfishness.

B. *Responsibility.* Leadership involves responsibility, loyalty, and sacrifice. This is one of the chief reasons why so many people shun leadership and why leaders become weary and are willing to resign their positions to others. The average person seems to be able to bear only a certain amount of leadership responsibility, either at a given time or over a certain period.

The leader must be dependable or he is valueless as a leader. Reliability is, therefore, one of his chief virtues. The very fact that his position involves constant unselfish service to the group means that he must be prepared to sacrifice his immediate personal pleasure on many occasions.

Leadership means sacrifice and loyalty. But the practice of these virtues brings its own rewards to the personality. This is probably seen best in the relation of parenthood; for the parent is a sort of leader of the family group. How often the seemingly frivolous, self-centered girl becomes a devoted mother and thereby undergoes a striking change in personality!

The leader must be loyal to his group even to the extent of being willing to be misunderstood and misjudged, both by those within and without the group. He must be loyal to the purposes and ideals of his group and yet he must use his own judgment and make decisions as to what is best for its welfare, which may run contrary to the desires of some of its members or even, temporarily, of the whole

group. This making of decisions upon the part of the leader is one of his gravest responsibilities, and is one of the best measures of his leadership. There are two extremes in the rôle of the leader with regard to his setting up his own goals or following those of the group. If he is supremely confident in his own purposes, he may follow them, whether or not the group follows, and may become a prophet whom future generations will honor, but who has kept the following of only the few. At the other extreme is the party leader in politics, who acts only according to the pressure of his constituents and who measures his every act by how many votes it will mean to him. He is a faithful representative, in the narrow sense of that word, but he is no leader. The true leader must maintain his own ideals and not be swept away by the sudden desires of his group, but on the other hand he must follow the wishes of the group to an extent that its members will not feel that he is no longer one of them. He must lead, and not be dominated, or he is no longer the leader. This making of decisions and bearing responsibility strengthens the personality of the leader, but it is at a cost which some are unwilling to pay and of which others tire. The true leader who makes no effort to obtain his leadership, but accepts it because he is glad to be of service to a cause which is dear to him, does not enjoy the responsibilities and sacrifices which he is obliged to make in the sense that they are an immediate pleasure to him, but he does have a real satisfaction in the service of his group, and he is loyal to its interests, just as a parent is loyal to his child, because he has identified himself with the group and its interests are his own, so that its welfare is his own life purpose.

This loyalty will govern not only his immediate leadership of the group, but will also control his decision to relinquish his leadership and support that of another whenever it is evident that it is for the best interest of the group. Otherwise, well-intentioned people are often selfish in the possessiveness of their leadership. Many a group has

waned or died because its leaders were unwilling to relinquish their control after their period of usefulness to the group had passed.

C. *Thoughtfulness.* We have seen that one of the functions of the leader is that he leads in the group planning; thoughtfulness is a necessary attribute of most types of leadership. The leader is a means for focusing or integrating the group thinking. He is the one who knows how to attack a problem, who is alert to see how changing conditions will affect the interests and purposes of his group. The leader must have vision to see the needs of the group, even before the members realize them. He must be venturesome in espousing the new, and yet conservative in holding fast to what is best in the old; he must have nerve, but he must be wise. The rôle of group thinker is one that challenges the best in the leader and gives a thrill of adventure; it enlarges his vision of life because he is forced to take a broader and deeper view of all that affects the group than he would have done for his own personal interests. Responsibility begets thoughtfulness.

D. *Respect for persons.* The respect that he has for the personality of others is an attribute of the true leader, as it is of the true gentleman. He must have a sensitivity to their feelings, their desires and aspirations. He regards his followers not as tools to his ends, but as his assistants; and he challenges them by his need for their assistance in order to accomplish their common objectives. He sees the strong qualities in each of them rather than their defects, and by revealing to them their own strength, he brings out the best in them and gives them self-confidence. His respect for persons necessitates a true courtesy and motivates generosity toward them. Because of these attitudes the leader draws out the best in his followers and develops them as leaders. He creates their leadership by his belief in them. But by this process, he also

socializes himself, and the new values which he sees in others make their friendship more valuable to him.

E. *Faith and optimism.* The leader must have faith in others and faith in their common objectives or goals if he is to command their support. Not merely faith, but a positive optimism and enthusiasm that is contagious and inspires his followers to dare what they would not attempt otherwise. Leadership has no use for cynicism. The leader has a larger view of the outside relationships of the group, of their values for its goals, of their significance to its members, and of how the group may function most effectively in order to meet the desires of its members. Out of this larger vision and his confidence in the abilities of his followers, which they themselves do not realize, he strengthens his own faith and their enthusiasm. It is often difficult for the leader to maintain his faith and optimism in the face of indifference and opposing interests, but it is out of his faith that progress is made possible, and as he comes to rely upon the goodness and abilities of men instead of being content with their seeming weaknesses, he lays hold of new values of life not otherwise attainable.

2. THE REWARDS OF LEADERSHIP

So we see that the leader relationship necessarily broadens, deepens, and strengthens the personality of the leader, and this is his chief reward. The real leader does not lead because of the rewards that he anticipates, but, unless he appreciates the values inherent in the relationship and derives a satisfaction from them, his zeal will lag; whereas, if he realizes the meaning of his relationship, to himself and to others, it will lighten his task, will strengthen his purposes, and will give him a sense of the worthwhileness of life not otherwise attainable.

A. *Recognition and appreciation.* Every man craves recognition by and appreciation from his fellows. This is one of the most fundamental values in all human relations and grows in importance and significance with the evolving

differentiation and general recognition of the individual and the supreme worth of personality. Although service carries its own rewards, as we have seen above, the appreciation of others is what gives real significance and meaning to the service rendered, for the affection of others gives the deepest joy of life.

B. *Accomplishment.* We have found that the leader is a creator of values, both for others and for himself. He has the satisfaction of accomplishment, of knowing that the world is a better place in which to live, because of what he has done as a leader. This sense of being a creator, of adding to the values of life, is the same as the farmer has in being a partner with Nature in the production of better crops and animals, as the inventor has in discovering new mechanisms for human welfare, as the artist has in being able to put on canvas, or to give literary form, or to express in musical harmony, ideas and feelings which give new meaning to life for others. As creator, he is part of the life process and his leadership makes life.

C. *The larger life.* Thus, true leadership gives a larger life, both to the leader and his followers, because it gives them more meaningful relationships, and more content to their conception of life, for while he has been enriching the life of others, the leader has been enriching his own life. This is his reward, but it is a by-product of his leadership. The rewards of leadership are illusive, if they are sought as an end. This has been very well stated by Miss Hiller, who quotes Mabel E. Cratty:

" 'Where does the leadership come in? It is by the way, beside the purpose, incidental. Real leadership is a result, a fruit, a grace of character, something earned, something always growing, and never quite achieved. Like all graces of character, it does not come by observation. We do not get it by seeking for it. I suppose it is not too much to say that, as long as we desire it, it eludes us. Only as we have ceased to care for it does it begin to grow within us.' So, as you have been doing your best for your group or your cause, your leadership has been growing within you. 'She led be-

cause she saw something that had to be achieved, and she became completely lost in a cause. That is where the answer comes to the question: "Does the leader stay in the background?" She is wherever the cause needs her—probably sometimes background and sometimes foreground; but it is the cause, not herself, that she is considering. And again, in the long run, it is not the brilliant person who leads, but the person of fine character'."[1]

D. *Character.* The qualities we have described as essential for the best leadership are not attained by merely taking thought about them. They require self-discipline and consistent effort, but this results in integrating the personality. As Miss Hiller says, it is the person of character who can lead, because people know that they can trust him. The act of leading in itself tends to strengthen character, for the leader is being constantly judged by his group and by others, and his leadership is successful to the extent that it embodies their ideals. Therefore, the leader relationship builds up a personality which is to a certain extent the product of the group situation. The gang may make a gangster of its leader, or the gang leader may become its savior. The political leader may degenerate into the mere tool of the pie-grabbers of his party, or he may be a Lincoln influencing his followers to accept his ideals. The leader relationship produced a Saul of Tarsus who persecuted the believers in the new religion, but it also made St. Paul who christianized the gentile world. The Jews would have made Jesus their Messiah, but he chose to become the leader of a small group whom he inspired with his faith, and, staking his life on their loyalty, he thereby became the Savior of Men.

Thus, true leadership enlarges, deepens, and strengthens the personality, for the leader must have something of what Ralph Waldo Emerson calls "The Over-soul." He must be able to say with him "More and more, the surges

[1] Margaret Hiller: *Leadership in the Making,* pp. 128-9. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Womans Press.

of everlasting nature enter into me, and I become public and human in my regards and actions," because the leader relationship compels him to devote himself to the common good and to be more keenly sensitive to human needs. Thus, leadership begets character while, at the same time, the truest basis of leadership is in the character of the leader, in his personal integrity, and in his human sympathy, which motivates his forgetfulness of self in his service of others.

Bibliography

Allport, Floyd H. *Social Psychology.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924. Pp. 419-424. $2.50.

Andrews, Lincoln C. *Military Manpower.* New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1920. $2.50.

Beard, A. F. *The Story of John Frederick Oberlin.* Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1909. $1.25. Out of Print.

Bernard, Luther L. *An Introduction to Social Psychology.* New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1926. $3.60.

†Bogardus, E. S. *Leaders and Leadership.* New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934. $3.00.

Brown, J. F. *Psychology and the Social Order.* New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936. Chapter 17, "Leadership."

Buell, Jennie. *The Grange Master and Lecturer.* New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921. $1.25. Out of Print.

Burr, Walter. *Community Leadership.* New York, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1929. $1.50. Out of Print.

Burton, Margaret E. *Mabel E. Cratty: Leader in the Art of Leadership.* New York, The Womans Press, 1929.

Busch, Henry M. *Leadership in Group Work.* New York, Association Press, 1934. $2.25.

Butterworth, Julian E. *Principles of Rural School Administration.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1926. Chapters X, XI. $1.80.

Chapin, F. Stuart. "Socialized Leadership." *Journal of Social Forces,* III, 57. Nov., 1924.

———— "Leadership and Group Activity." *Journal of Applied Sociology,* VIII, 141-145. Nov., 1924.

† References marked with a dagger (†) contain extensive bibliographies.

Cooley, Charles H. *Human Nature and the Social Order.* New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Chapters IV, IX. $2.00. Out of Print.

Coyle, Grace L. *Social Process in Organized Groups.* New York, Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930. Chapter V. $2.00.

——— *Studies in Group Behavior.* New York, Association Press, 1937. Chapter I. $2.75.

Dawson, Marshall. *Oberlin, A Protestant Saint.* Chicago, Willett, Clark and Co., 1934. $1.50.

Follett, Mary P. *The New State.* New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1928. $3.50.

Foster, Robert G. *How Shall 4-H Leadership Be Trained?* U. S. Department of Agriculture. Office of Co-operative Extension Work, 1926. Pp. 70. Mimeographed.

Gilder, Richard W. *Lincoln the Leader.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909. Out of Print.

Gosnell, Harold F. *Boss Platt and His New York Machine.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1924. $3.00.

Gowin, E. B. *Developing Executive Ability.* New York, The Ronald Press, 1919. $3.00.

——— *The Executive and His Control of Men.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1920. $2.00.

Hiller, Margaret. *Leadership in the Making.* New York, The Womans Press, 1936. $.75.

Leigh, R. D. *Group Leadership, with Modern Rules of Parliamentary Procedure.* New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1936. $1.00.

Leopold, Lewis. *Prestige: A Psychological Study of Social Estimates.* London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1913.

Lindeman, Eduard C. *The Community.* New York, Association Press, 1921. $1.60. Out of Print.

——— *Social Discovery.* New York, New Republic Publishing Co., 1924. $1.00.

Lippmann, Walter. *Public Opinion.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1922. Chapter XV. $2.50.

Machiavelli, Niccollo. *The Prince.* New York, Modern Library. $.95.

Martin, Everett Dean. *The Behavior of Crowds.* New York, Harper & Bros., 1920. $2.50. Out of Print.

Merriam, Charles E. *Political Power.* New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934. Out of Print.

Miller, Arthur Harrison. *Leadership.* New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920. $1.50. Out of Print.

Moreno, J. L. *Who Shall Survive?* Washington, D. C., Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934. $4.00.

Mumford, Eben. "The Origins of Leadership." *American Journal of Sociology,* XII: 216-40, 367-97, 500-531. (1909.)

Munson, E. L. *The Management of Men.* New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1921. Out of Print.

†Pigors, Paul. *Leadership or Domination?* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935. $3.00.

Ramsower, H. C. "Some Aspects of a Study of Leadership." Proceedings of the 39th Annual Convention of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges. Pp. 236-243.

Ross, Edward A. *Social Psychology.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1908. $2.40.

———— *Social Control.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1915. $2.50.

———— *Principles of Sociology.* New York, The Century Co., 1920. $4.00.

Russell, Bertrand. *Power.* New York, W. W. Norton and Co., 1938. $3.00.

Sanderson, Dwight and Nafe, Robert W. "Studies in Rural Leadership." Publications of the American Sociological Society. XXIII, 163-175.

†Schmidt, Richard. "Leadership." Article in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.*

*Slavson, S. R. *Creative Group Education.* New York, Association Press, 1937. Chapters I and II. $2.50.

*Tead, Ordway. *The Art of Leadership.* New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935. $2.50.

Terman, L. M. "A Preliminary Study of the Psychology and Pedagogy of Leadership." Pedagogical Seminary. XI: 413-451. 1904.

Thrasher, Frederic C. *The Gang.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1927. $4.00.

*** References marked with an asterisk (*) are recommended as first choice for a small library.**

Waller, Willard. *The Sociology of Teaching.* New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1932. Chapter XIV, "Teaching as Institutional Leadership," pp. 189-211. $3.50.

Warren, Gertrude L. *Development of Local Volunteer Leadership.* U. S. Department of Agriculture. Office of Cooperative Extension Work. 1925. Pp. 25. Mimeographed.

Whitehead, T. N. *Leadership in a Free Society.* Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1937. 266 Pages. $3.00.

*Wilson, Lucius. *Community Leadership.* New York, American City Bureau, 1919. $1.50.

Young, Kimball. *An Introductory Sociology.* New York, American Book Co., 1934. Pp. 409-417. $3.50.

———— *Social Psychology.* New York, F. S. Crofts Co., 1930. Chapter XV, pp. 361-394. $4.00.

———— *Source Book for Social Psychology,* Part V, pp. 543-621. $3.50.

Index

Accomplishment, 117
Agricultural agents, leadership of, 48
Allport, F. H., 17, 121
Andrews, L. C., 121
Animal societies, 26
Appreciation, 100, 116
Apprenticeship, 85-86
Authority, 18

Bass, Reed, 90
Beard, A. F., 121
Bernard, L. L., 17, 62, 121
Bibliographies, 98
Bogardus, E. S., 17, 121
Brown, J. F., 121
Buell, Jennie, 76, 121
Burr, Walter, 121
Burton, Margaret E., 92, 121
Busch, H. M., 121
Butterworth, J. E., 30, 103-105, 109, 121

Chapin, F. Stuart, 121
Character, 118
Chieftainship, 61
Circular response, 34, 35
Coady, M. M., 14
Competition, 76
Conferences and conventions, 99
Consensus, 25, 33
Cooley, C. H., 38, 121
Cosline, H. L., 43
Country life institutes, 74
Coyle, Grace L., 122
Cratty, Mabel E., 92, 117

Darwin, Charles, 60
Dawson, Marshall, 122
Deliberative bodies, 64
Demonstration method, 70
Domination, 21

Edman, Irwin, 37
Election, 23
Ellwood, C. A., 26-27
Emerson, R. W., 118
Environment, 30
Experience
  leader training by, 85
  vicarious, 92

Faith, 116
Faith in leader, 100
Felton, R. A., 35, 38, 57
Finley, Elizabeth R., 59
Follett, M. P., 20, 122
Followership, 37
Foster, Robert G., 122

Gilder, R. W., 122
Gosnell, H. F., 122
Gowin, E. B., 122
Group
  defined, 24
  educator, 33
  executive, 32
  ideals, 34
  loyalty, 32
  members, 34
  morale, 58
  nature of, 24
  organized, 23

Group (*Continued*)
planner, 32
spokesman, 32
support, 73 ff.
symbol, 33
unorganized, 22
Group adjustment, 27, 30
Group discussion, 79-84
Group harmonizer, 32
Group mechanism, 23, 25

Headship, 19
Henry, Jim, 39 ff.
Heredity, 23
Hiller, Margaret, 117-118, 122
Hobhouse, L. T., 61
Hoover, Herbert, 20
Hummel, B. L., 99

Imitation, 71, 75
Information, printed, 98
Interview, 78

Jesus Christ, 14, 54, 118
Jones, John R., 91

Knowledge, 87

Landis, B. Y., 98
Leader
a creator, 117
affection for, 38
begets leaders, 39
born, 46-48
chosen, 28, 29
creating, 68 ff.
creative, 28, 29
defined, 16-18
dependency of, 35
direct-contact-group, 22
drafted, 28, 29
economic, 51
enlistment, 76-78
faith of, 116
farm, 43-45

Leader (*Continued*)
functions, 31-34
local, 5
loyalty, 113
need of, 35
personality values, 112 ff.
professional, 13, 21, 102 ff.
professional, as educator, 107
responsibility, 113
rôle of, 60 ff.
training, 84 ff.
training camps for, 95
training conferences, 93-95
training methods, means, and devices, 92 ff.
Leadership
dearth of, 57
demand for, 11-15
desire for, 52-53
evolution of, 60 ff.
generalized, 56
hereditary, 62
innate, 31, 46-48
institutionalization of, 62
jealousy of, 12, 66
military, 18, 19
of children, 62
origin, 28
professional, 71
rewards of, 116
school, 103-104
service attitude, 54
stimuli for, 69 ff.
training for, 52
training schools, 55
values to leader, 112 ff.
Leigh, R. D., 122
Leopold, Lewis, 62, 122
Life, larger, of leader, 117
Lindeman, E. C., 17, 104, 108, 122
Lippmann, W., 122
Lowell, S. J., 54
Loyalty, 113

Machiavelli, Niccollo, 122
Martin, E. D., 122
Merriam, C. E., 123
Miller, A. H., 19, 77, 84, 123
Milling, 63
Morale, 68
Moreno, J. L., 123
Motivation, 99
Mumford, Eben, 123
Munson, E. L., 123

Nafe, R. W., 73
Need, common, 70

Oberlin, J. F., 71-72, 121, 122
Optimism, 116

Park, Robert E., 62, 63
Parker, Carleton, 36
Patten, Marjorie, 96
Persons, respect for, 115
Pigors, Paul, 18, 21, 52, 60, 62, 123
Power, 20
Prestige, 23, 62-63
Primitive peoples, 26
Primitive tribes, leadership among, 61
Prophets, 106

Ramsower, H. C., 48, 123
Rapking, A. H., 74
Reading, 100
Recognition, 100, 116
Respect for persons, 115
Responsibility, 113
Roosevelt, F. D., 36
Ross, E. A., 64-65, 123
Russell, Bertrand, 123

Saint Paul, 118
Schmidt, R., 123
Score-card, 74
Self-confidence, 49
Seniority, 23
Service, 54, 113
Simons, L. R., 75, 96
Situation, for leadership, 68 ff.
Skills, 89
Slavson, S. R., 123
Speakers, 97
Specialists, 97
Status, 23
Stimuli, 69 ff.
Suggestion, 72
Supervision, 86, 96

Tead, Ordway, 17, 123
Terman, L. M., 123
Thought, 90
Thoughtfulness, 115
Thrasher, F. C., 123
Tierra del Fuego, 60
Tompkins, Fr., 14
Torch, The, 59
Training
  in knowledge, 87
  in skills, 89
  to think, 90

Wakeley, Ray E., 39
Waller, Willard, 123
Warren, Gertrude L., 124
Whitehead, T. N., 124
Wilson, Lucius, 65, 124
Wilson, M. L., 3-5
Woodward, L. H., 79

Young, Kimball, 19, 124

Date Due

[redacted]	[redacted]		
Mr 24 '42			
[illegible]			
[redacted] 22 '42			
My 26 '42			
Mr 18 '43			
D 26 '46			
D 10 '47			
[redacted] 19 47			
(Randolph)			
Rural Church			
Reserve			
MR 24 '53			
(Randolph)			
Rural Church			
Reserve			
[redacted]			
[redacted]			

Leadership for Rural Life
Princeton Theological Seminary–Speer Library
1 1012 00138 5519